PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

JANUARY

TO

DECEMBER, 1895.

VOL. XVII. TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION.

PUBLISHED AT
THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

1895.

HARRISON AND SONS,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY.
ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON.

COUNCIL, 1895.

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P. le Page Renouf.

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The Most Rev. His Grace The Lord Archbishop of York.
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OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XVII. TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION.

First Meeting, January 8th, 1895.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

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1895.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

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			s.	d.				s.	d.
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,, III,	,,	1880–81	4 0	5 0
,, IV,	,,	1881–82	4 0	5 0
,, V,	,,	1882–83	4 0	5 0
,, VI,	,,	1883–84	5 0	6 0
,, VII,	,,	1884–85	5 0	6 0
,, VIII,	,,	1885–86	5 0	6 0
,, IX,	,,	1886–87	2 0 per Part	2 6
,, IX,	Part 7,	1886–87	8 0 ,, ,,	10 6
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,, XIII,	Parts 1 to 7,	1890–91	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XIII,	Part 8,	1890–91	5 0 ,, ,,	6 0
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,, XVI,	Parts 1 to 10,	1893–94	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XVII,	In progress	1895	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6

A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, the 5th of March, 1895, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

P. le P. Renouf, *President*, "Human Sacrifice and the Theory of Substitution in Egyptian and other Ancient Religions."

W. H. RYLANDS, *Secretary*.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author, G. Maspero:—Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classique Paris, 1895.

From the Author, John D. Davis:—Genesis and Semitic Tradition. London, 1894.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

TRANSACTIONS.

,,	XIV,	Parts 1 to 7,	1891–92	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	,,	,,		
,,	XIV,	Part 8,	1891–92	...	5	0	,,	,,	...	6 0
,,	XV,	Parts 1 to 7,	1892–93	...	2	0	,,	,,	...	2 6
,,	XV,	Part 8,	1892–93	...	5	0	,,	,,	...	6 0
,,	XVI,	Parts 1 to 10,	1893–94	...	2	0	,,	,,	...	2 6
,,	XVII,	In progress	1895	...	2	0	,,	,,	...	2 6

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1895.

First Meeting, 8th January, 1895.
[ANNIVERSARY.]

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President,
IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author, G. Maspero:—Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classique Paris, 1895.

From the Author, John D. Davis:—Genesis and Semitic Tradition. London, 1894.

The following Candidate was submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 4th December, 1894, and elected a Member of the Society :—

Mrs. Garnet Botfield, c/o Major Garnett Botfield, Hong-Kong.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting, 5th February, 1895 :—

Rev. Henry Jones, St. John's Parsonage, Ashbourne, Derby.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The University Library, Giessen, Germany.

Professor G. Bickell, of Vienna, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

The Secretary's Report, having been read by the Rev. R. Gwynne, was received and adopted.

The Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year ending the 31st December, 1894, having been read and explained by Mr. Thos. Christy, was received and adopted.

A Paper was read by the Rev. G. Margoliouth, "On the meaning of the Divine Name Yahveh."

Remarks were added by the Rev. Dr. Löwy, Rev. C. J. Ball, Theo. G. Pinches, Thos. Tyler, M.A., and the President.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1894.

In submitting to the Anniversary Meeting the statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year just passed, I very much regret that continued indisposition has prevented my furnishing at the same time the usual Report of the work done by the Society during the same period. This I shall hope to be able to supply at a future meeting, and will ask the kind forbearance of the Members.

It will be seen from the Statement of Accounts of the Society, that the ordinary current expenses of Rent, Printing, etc., having been discharged, a very satisfactory balance is carried forward to the present year.

To one or two other matters of considerable importance as regards the welfare of our Society I will briefly refer. In my last Report, as in those of former years, I asked the kind assistance of each individual Member in increasing the roll of Members. I cannot too strongly urge the advantage to the present Members and those of the future, alike, which would result from a determined effort on their part. Many Members have very kindly replied, some very generously, to the request referring to the cost of printing Vol. IX of the *Transactions*. From the amount subscribed, however, it will be easily seen that no reply whatever has been received from a large number of our Members. I can only hope that this seeming indifference will be removed during the current year, by a marked increase in the donations.

To matters connected with the Library and Offices I also referred in the last Report, to which I would again call the attention of the Members.

Several applications have been made to me with regard to the 5th and completing Part of the "Bronze Ornaments of the Gates of Balawat." I can only regret the continued delay in its issue. It was my intention to have completed the work by the issue of the final part during the vaccation of last year. Unfortunately I was taken ill in June, which has completely disturbed the whole of my plans. Immediately I am able I shall give my attention to the publication of the final part.

W. HARRY RYLANDS,

Secretary.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1894.

1894.	Dr.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance in hand		140 15 1
	,, Subscriptions—	£ s. d.	
	For the Year 1894 ...	325 1 1	
	,, Arrears from former years	37 10 6	
	,, Payments in advance	11 19 6	
		374 11 1	
	,, Less Subscriptions returned	1 1 0	
			373 10 1
	,, Donations towards printing Transactions, Vol. IX		147 10 10
	,, Sales of Transactions, &c.		62 9 9
	,, Dividends, 1 year, on £123 14s. 3d. 2¾% Consols		3 8 9
	,, Rent, Egypt Exploration Fund, 1894 ...		85 0 0
			£812 13 9
1895.			
Jan 1.	,, Balance brought forward		90 4 0

1894.	Cr.	£ s. d.
Dec. 31.	By Expenditure to date, viz.:—	
	,, Rent	125 0 0
	,, Rates, Taxes, 1894...	59 9 1
	,, Printing Proceedings, and Sundries ...	203 13 4
	,, On account, Transactions, Vol. IX ...	150 0 0
	,, Engraving, &c.	26 7 5
	,, Subscriptions to Foreign Journals ...	11 14 1
	,, Stationery	7 13 8
	,, Secretary, on account	100 0 0
	,, Official Auditor's Fee	2 2 0
	,, Postage	8 14 3
	,, Housekeeper and Sundries	19 9 5
	,, Fire Insurance	4 11 6
	,, Advertising, Furniture, etc.	3 14 11
	,, Balance carried forward to 1895	90 4 0
		£812 13 9

ASSETS.

Subscriptions still outstanding.
Library Furniture and Effects at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.
The Transactions and Proceedings in stock.
Reserve Fund for Premises in 2¾% Consols.

LIABILITIES.

Printing and Current Expenses accruing for 1895.
Printing Proceedings and Transactions, 1893.

Audited and found correct, 5th January, 1895,

W. J. HAYWOOD.
E. C. HULME.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, *Secretary.*

37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.,
January 5th, 1895.

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected :—

COUNCIL, 1895.

President.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

Vice-Presidents.

THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., &c., &c.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD HALSBURY.
THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., D.C.L., &c.
F. D. MOCATTA, F.S.A., &c.
WALTER MORRISON, M.P.
SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART., D.C.L., M.D., &c.
REV. GEORGE RAWLINSON, D.D., Canon of Canterbury.
SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON, BART., G.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., &c.
VERY REV. ROBERT PAYNE SMITH, Dean of Canterbury.

Council.

REV. CHARLES JAMES BALL.
ARTHUR CATES.
THOMAS CHRISTY, F.L.S.
CHARLES HARRISON, F.S.A.
GRAY HILL.
REV. ALBERT LÖWY, LL.D., &c.
REV. JAMES MARSHALL.
PROF. G. MASPERO.
CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE.
WALTER L. NASH, F.S.A., &c.
PROF. E. NAVILLE.
ALEXANDER PECKOVER, F.S.A.
J. POLLARD.
EDWARD B. TYLOR, LL.D., F.R.S., &c.
E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A.

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Hon. Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

REV. R. GWYNNE, B.A.

Honorary Librarian.

WILLIAM SIMPSON, F.R.G.S.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

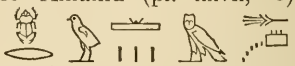
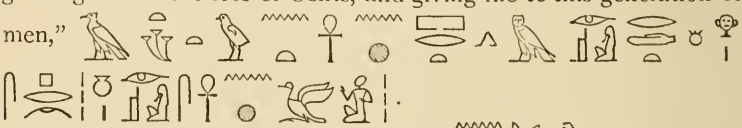
By P. le Page Renouf.

Additional Note to Chapter 109.

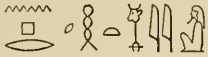
The later copies of the Book of the Dead add a few lines to the chapter, of which they certainly formed no part when first written. The most interesting portion of them is as follows:—

"There are writings in thy possession for the grant of fields of corn-land in which there sprouteth corn from the effluxes of the god Ut'eb. The height of the corn is seven cubits, the ears of two cubits; and thou shall reap it with the Glorified ones, in presence of the Powers of the East. Thou shalt enter boldly at the mysterious portals and be purified by those who are there."

The name of the god hieroglyphically written was shown by me (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. VI, p. 187) to be *Uteb* or *Ut'eb*. Brugsch, apparently without having seen my note, came to the same result, though he identified the god with Seb. The god is really Osiris, and the text just quoted is illustrated by a picture of which various copies are found. That here given is taken from the temple of Philae.

These pictures were known from the Ramesside period, but the conception of Osiris which they convey (*Todt.*, 142, 7) is of primitive antiquity. There is a chapter among the texts preserved by the Coffin of Amamu (pl. xxvii, 6) about "assuming the form of corn,"  , and which speaks of "the vegetation of life proceeding from Osiris, growing out of the ribs of Osiris, and giving life to this generation of men,"  .

The same idea gave rise to the name which is given to Osiris in the Book of the Dead, in the sacred texts of the Royal

Tombs, and in the Hymn to the Nile. But the god is also twice called  in Amamu, pl. xxvii, 8. This latter form proves that in we have a compound term.

The deity (in very late times) appears in the feminine gender (*Denkm.*, iv, 57).

[The Chapter which in the printed copy of the Turin *Todtenbuch* is numbered 110 interrupts the series of chapters on the Powers of certain localities. The translation of it is reserved till that of these chapters is completed.]

CHAPTER CXI

is only a repetition of Chapter 108.

CHAPTER CXII.

Chapter whereby one knoweth the Powers of Pu. (1)

Oh thou of corpselike form who art in Chait and Ânpit; (2) thou goddess of the Net, (3) who art in Pu; ye who preside over the untilled lands, ye stars and constellations (4) . . . Know ye wherefore Pu hath been given to Horus?

I know it if ye know it not.

It was Râ who gave it to him in amends of the blindness in his eye, in consequence of what Râ said to Horus: "Let me look at what is happening in thine eye to-day," and he looked at it.

Râ said to Horus, "Look, pray, at that black swine."

He looked, and a grievous mishap afflicted his eye.

Horus said to Râ, "Lo, my eye is as though the eye of Sutu had made a wound in my own eye." And he grieved in his heart.

And Râ said to the gods, "Let him be laid upon his bed, that he may recover."

It was Sutu who had taken the form of a black swine, and he wrought the wound which was in the eye of Horus.

And Râ said to the gods, "The swine is an abomination to Horus; may he get well." And the swine became an abomination to Horus.

And the circle of gods said, who were with him when Horus came to light in his own children: (6) "Let the sacrificial victims (7) for him be of his oxen, of his goats, and of his swine."

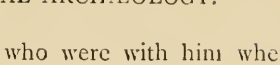
As for Emsta, Hapi, Tuamautef, Kebhsenuf, Horus is their father and Isis their mother.

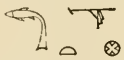
And Horus said to Râ, "Give me then two (8) brothers in Pu and two brothers in Nechen, of this my own body; and that they may be with me as an everlasting renewal, through which the earth flourisheth and storms are quenched."

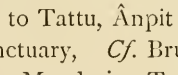
And his name became that of Horus upon his Column.

I know the Powers of Pu: they are Horus, Emsta and Hapi.

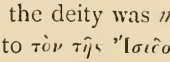
NOTES.

1. On the situation of *Pu*, see chapter 18, note 6. The Pyramid Texts (Pepi I, 684) speak of the  "those of the Red Crown who are in Pu."

2. *Thou of corpselike form in Chait and Ânpit.* The sign of the plural, here as elsewhere, is quite consistent with its application to a single person.  *Chait* is the name* of the 16th, or Mendesian, Nome of Northern Egypt, and Ânpit was its metropolis. The nome is mentioned in the inscription of Amten in the third dynasty. The god is Osiris. He is invoked in the "Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys," and asked to come to Tattu, Ânpit and Chait, which are but different names of one Sanctuary, *Cf.* Brugsch, *Zeitschr.*, 1871, p. 81, and his translation of the Mendesian Tablet, *Zeitschr.*, 1875.

3. *Thou goddess of the Net*  . This name corresponds to the Greek Diktynna. The reason why a goddess representing Heaven should be so called may be understood by the Homeric epithet πολυωπόν applied to a net.

If, however, the deity was *male*, according to the other reading, the reference is to τὸν τῆς Ἴσιδος τρόφιμον Δίκτυν, who was drowned in the river. Plut., *de Iside and Os.*, 8.

4. *Ye who preside*, etc. Brugsch (*Zeitschr.*, 1876, p. 3) identifies the Egyptian  with the ψιλοτόπος of the Demotic

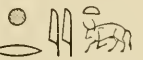
* Not *Ḥāmeḥit*, which is the name both of the *Uu* of the nome and of the goddess worshipped in it, whose emblem is the fish .

and Greek contracts. The remainder of this invocation is so corrupt that the sense cannot be safely guessed at.

5. See Herodotus, II, 47, without attaching too much importance to details. The pig was certainly not considered impure (μιαρός) in the days of the third or fourth dynasty, when Amten, who had risen to the highest dignities, enumerates swine among the domestic animals it is natural to possess. And impure animals were not offered in sacrifice. But long before the days of Herodotus a change had taken place in the Egyptian religion as to the nature of Sutu.

Plutarch and Aelian are to be read with the like caution. Some of their information is correct, but it is mixed up with much error.

6. The variants are noteworthy.

7. *Sacrifical victims*  . The substitution in Egypt of animal for human sacrifice is (I believe) *entirely* without foundation. And the supposed evidence of human sacrifices drawn from certain pictures has (I believe) been misinterpreted.

8. The four *children* of Horus were also his *brothers*. He asks for *two* of them to be with him in each of his two cities, Pu and Nechen. The true sense of the passage is entirely lost in the later recensions and in translations made from them.

CHAPTER CXIII.

Chapter whereby one knoweth the Powers of Nechen. (1)

I know the Mystery of Nechen: Horus, and that which his mother did (2) for him, when she herself uttered the cry: "Let Sebak, the Lord of the Marshes, be brought to us."

He cast the net for them and he found them, and his mother made them fast in their places.

Sebak, the Lord of the Marshes, said: "I sought and I found the traces of them under my fingers on the strand. I netted them in a powerful net, as the net proved to be."

And Râ said: "Verily, those are fishes in the hands of Sebak, and he hath found the two arms of Horus for him, which had become fishes." (3)

And Râ said: "A mystery, a mystery, in the Net."

And the hands of Horus were brought to him, and displayed before his face, on the feast of the fifteenth day of the month: when the fishes were produced.

Then Râ said: "I grant Nechen to Horus, in the place of his two arms; that his two hands be displayed before his face in Nechen; and I grant to him whatsoever is therein comprised on the feast of the fifteenth day of the month."

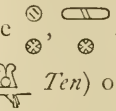
And Horus said: "Be it granted to me that Tuamāutef and Kebhsenuf be taken with me, and that they be guards of my body in dutiful service. (4) Let them be this under the god of Nechen."

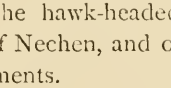
And Râ said: Be that granted to thee, there and in Sati, and let that be done for them which is done for those who are in Nechen; yea, they are asking to be with thee.

And Horus said: Be they with thee, so that they be with me to listen to Sutu invoking the Powers of Nechen: "Be it granted to me that I may make my entry among the Powers of Nechen."

I know the Powers of Nechen: they are Horus, Tuamāutef, and Kebhsenuf.

NOTES.

1. *Nechen*, the chief hieroglyphic variants of which are  , and , was situated in the third nome (*Ten*) of Upper Egypt, and was called by the Greeks Hieracōnpolis, 'city of the Hawks,' from the hawk-headed divinities mentioned in this chapter as Powers of Nechen, and of which numberless pictures are found on the monuments.

2. Between these words and those which the three old papyri* *Aa*, *Ae*, and *Ib*, which unfortunately do not agree together on all points, have a few passages here which do not appear in the later papyri. They read, "Horus and what his mother did, tossing in distressful agitation ( , KI, σαλεύεσθαι) over the water." The mother then addresses persons who are not named, in words of which the sense is not clear; and Rā speaks words of

* There is a copy of the chapter in the tomb of Chā-em-hait, which is our oldest authority. But it is unfortunately mutilated, and all that can be said is, that if the additional words were once there, they have been destroyed.

which the only certain ones are "the son of Isis." Then follows the usual text.

3. This legend of Nechen is connected with that of the dismemberment of Horus (τὸ περὶ τὸν Ὥρου διαμελισμὸν), of which we have but very scanty information.* It must have been like a repetition of what had happened to his father Osiris. The limbs of Horus had been thrown into the water, and when Sebak threw his net, at the prayer of Isis, he brought up two fishes, into which the arms of Horus had been turned.

Reminiscences of this story are preserved in the names of several localities. , "Two Fish," is the name of the *Mer* of the second Northern Nome, and of the *pehu* of the seventeenth Southern Nome; just as , "Two Eyes," is the name of the *pehu* of the eleventh Northern Nome. The latter name may perhaps have reference to Osiris, but the same stories were probably told of both divinities.

4. *On dutiful service* , a word omitted in the Turin and other texts. Brugsch (*Rev. Egypt*, I, 22) has discussed the sense of this word, and quoted numerous passages in illustration of it.

It is of course ridiculous to identify the word with the Hebrew אדן, the meaning of which is radically different.

CHAPTER CXIV.

Chapter whereby one knoweth the Powers of Hermopolis.

Maāt is borne (1) over the Arm, (2) and Neith dawneth at Ment'ait, (3) and the Eye is illumined (4) by the one who adjusteth its level.

I am led in by her, and I know what she bringeth from Kasu. (5) I tell it not to men; I repeat it not to gods.

I am come as a messenger of Rā, to make fast Maāt upon the Arm, for the dawning of Neith at Ment'ait, and for restoring the Eye to him who taketh the reckoning thereof.

I am come as omnipotent through the knowledge of the Powers of Hermopolis, who love the Powers which you love.

* The Apis tablets (*Zeitschr.*, 1882, p. 22) give the name of a place *Pa-ḳerḳen Ḥor*, which seems to refer to this catastrophe; the Coptic ⲕⲟⲣϫ, ⲕⲱⲣϫ corresponding to the Greek ἐκκόπτειν, ἐκκλᾶν, κατασπᾶσθαι.

I am one acquainted with Maāt made firm and permanent and reckoned out, and I take delight in reckoning out that which is reckoned.

Hail ye Powers of Hermopolis, small at the beginning of the month and great upon the Fifteenth Day; Rā teacheth the mysteries of Night, and be it known to you that he who teacheth me is Thoth.

Hail ye Powers of Hermopolis as I know you.

NOTES.

There are two chapters (114 and 116) of "the Powers of Hermopolis," and they have been preserved separately both in the older and in the more recent papyri. They are very similar in thought but differently worded, and each throws a certain light upon the other, without however dispelling the obscurity of this very ancient religious composition. Some farther help, however insufficient, is afforded by the pictures of the Book which records the passage of the Sun-god through the twelve hours of the night.

1. *Maāt is borne.* is the same word as , the reduplicated form of *to gush, spring forth.* But in certain cases it acquires the sense of *being borne*, or *conveyed*, and is written in Ptolemaic inscriptions. The corresponding word in chapter 116 is , which has the same meanings. One of the pictures above alluded to (Lefebure, *Hypogées, Tombeau de Seti*, part IV, pl. 31) represents a boat carrying the Moon-disk, raised upon a stand.

A personage kneeling behind is supporting the feather of Maāt. The words , which are written by way of explanation, might give rise to some misunderstanding were it not for considerations mentioned in the following note.

2. *The Arm* in chapter 114 has for corresponding word in chapter 116, implying that *Arm* is to be taken in a geographical sense, as when we speak of an 'arm of the sea.' Now the pictures which have been spoken of have the words

, 'arm of the Urnes,' inscribed over the stream down which the Sun-god takes his nightly journey.

These pictures have only the value of a commentary on a very ancient text, but they are at least as old as the earliest papyrus which contains the text.

3. *Ment'ait* , is the ancient reading in chapter 114, but the later texts have , *T'ar.* Chapter 116 has , *Mat'ait.*

4. *Illumined.* The texts are discordant as to the reading. I follow that of the two old papyri which have ; though this orthography, however defensible, is somewhat suspicious.

5. *Kasu.* , the 'Burial Place,' was the metropolis of the 14th Nome of Southern Egypt. Dendera is called and in more ordinary characters . Like very many other geographical names, it has the feminine form in , as well as the masculine in .

CHAPTER CXV.

Chapter whereby one cometh forth into Heaven, and openeth the Ammehit: and whereby the Powers of Heliopolis are known.

I have grown from yesterday, a Great one among the Great. I have raised myself above all things that come into being.

The Face is revealed to the Eye of the Only One, and the round of darkness is broken through. I am one of you.

I know the Powers of Heliopolis. Doth not the All-powerful One (1) issue from it like one who extendeth a hand to us?

It is with reference to me that the gods say: Lo, the afflicted one is heir of Heliopolis!

I know on what occasion the Lock of the Male child (2) was made.

Rā was speaking with Amhauf, (3) and a blindness came upon him.

Rā said to Amhauf: Take the spear, oh offspring of Men. (4) And Amhauf said: The spear is taken.

Two brethren came into being: they were Heb-rā and Sotemanes, whose arm resteth not; and he assumed the form of a female with a lock, which became the Lock in Heliopolis.

Active and powerful is the heir of the temple; the Active one of Heliopolis. The flesh of his flesh (5) is the All-seer, for he hath the might divine as the Son whom the Father hath begotten. And his will is that of the Mighty one of Heliopolis.

I know the Powers of Heliopolis; they are Rā, Shu and Tefnut.

NOTES.

The ancient text of this chapter has most unfortunately been lost. A few words only remain in the fragments of Papyrus *Pm.* M. Naville has also published what is found on an ostracon of the time of the XVIIIth dynasty. There is no doubt that the form of the text which has been handed down in the later papyri has suffered great alterations. And a comparison between the Turin and Cadet papyri shows in how untrustworthy a way this later form of the text has been transmitted.

Special attention has been given to this chapter by Mr. Goodwin (*Zeitschr.*, 1873, p. 104), and by M. Lefébure (*Mélanges d'Arch.*, 1874, p. 155), whose work is very much more valuable than that of his English colleague. But the most important study bearing on the relations between the older and the more recent recension is that of M. Naville, 'Un ostrakon égyptien,' in the first volume of the *Annales du Musée Guimet.*

1. *All powerful One,* . M. Naville observes that this is substituted for , which is found on the ostrakon. Both terms are divine names; the latter corresponding to the Greek πολυδερκής or πανδερκής, was the title of the high priest of Heliopolis, who, like his priestly colleagues all over Egypt, bore the titles of the god whom they represented.

2. *The Lock of the Male child,* , is not a 'curly wigged woman,' as generally interpreted, but the side lock

borne by Horus, and princes and princesses, as well as by other priests and priestesses, in honour of Horus.

3. *Amhauf*, of whom nothing else is known, is called 'king' only by a fault of transcription in MSS.

4. *O offspring.* I follow the Papyrus Luyne in omitting the preposition ⬭.

5. *The flesh of his flesh*, or the *heir of his heir.* This may perhaps be an assertion as to the hereditary succession of the high priest of Heliopolis.

CHAPTER CXVI.

Chapter whereby one knoweth the Power of Hermopolis.

Neith dawneth forth in Mat'at, and Maāt is conveyed upon the Arm of the Eater of the Eye by him who reckoneth it out.

I know it, and I am therefore led in through the Sem priest.

I tell it not to men, I repeat it not to the gods (and conversely).

I enter as one who knoweth not, and seeth not.

Hail, ye gods who are in Hermopolis. Know ye me as I know Neith, that the Eye may be made firm and permanent. I take delight in reckoning out that which is reckoned.

I know the Powers of Hermopolis who are great at the beginning of the month, and diminished at the fifteenth day.

They are Thoth the Unseen, Sau and Tmu.

If this chapter be known, filth is avoided, and lye is not drunken.

NOTE.

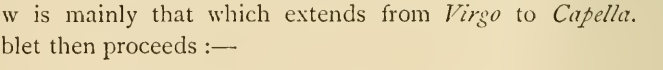
This is the last of the chapters concerning the Powers of certain places. Of their positive antiquity there can be no doubt, whatever alterations they may have undergone. But they are relatively modern with respect to other chapters, *e.g.*, the 17th. Mr. Goodwin used to compare them with Christian legends of the mediæval period. These are ancient enough as far as we ourselves are concerned, but no one would think of judging by them of primitive Christianity.

EUPHRATEAN STELLAR RESEARCHES.

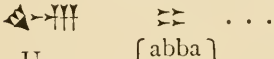
By Robert Brown, Junr., F.S.A.

Part IV. *The Tablet W.A.I.*, III, lvii, No. 5.

Another much mutilated fragment of this Inscription refers to portents and circumstances connected with the rising of *Dilbat* (*Venus*), the constellation *Mastabba* (apparently "the *Twins*," near *Sibzianna*, which were probably δ and ϵ *Virginis*. Vide *Proceedings* May, 1893, p. 322), the star *Zibanitur* (vide *inf.*, p. 23), the star *Tsir* ("the *Serpent*," η *Serpentarii*), the star *Bir* ('Vermilion,' probably *Antares*), the constellation Ak. *Sutul*, As. *Niru* ("the *Yoke*," = "the *Goat-fish*") and "the Star of Merôda$_\chi$" (*Dilgan—Capella*). The portion of the heavens, therefore, specially under view is mainly that which extends from *Virgo* to *Capella*. The Tablet then proceeds :—

1. 

Kakkab Su - zak - Gud - elim, kakkab
The star *Right-hand-of-the-Horned-bull,* *the-constellation*



U$_\chi$ - $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{abba}\\ \text{nap}\end{matrix}\right\}$ . . .
the-Worm-of $\left\{\begin{matrix}\textit{the-sea}\\ \textit{light}\end{matrix}\right\}$ . . .

The first star in As. is *Katu amutu Alpi karuni*. The Ak. *elim* signifies "a horned animal," and hence is rendered in As. by *ditanu*, 'gazelle.' The Rev. Wm. Houghton has excellently explained the ideograph, which reads 'foot' + 'water' + 'tear,' as referring to the *Gazella sub-gutturosa** ; and Êa himself is "the Lusty-gazelle" and the "Gazelle-god" (vide *W.A.I.*, II, lv, 31–33), whilst, as Prof. Sayce informs me, is also explained as 'Belu,' so that we might possibly render *Gud-elim* "the Bull of

* Vide *Transactions*, VI, 473.

Bel." There would be nothing specially strange in this, as in the Gilgames Epic we read of "the Bull of Anu," which was slain by Gilgames and Êa-bani. But it is certainly preferable to understand *elim* here as signifying "a horned creature"; and this being was bovine, and also had "a hand"; in a word we have before us the constellation of the *Centaur*. As Bêrôsos tells us, when speaking of the primeval Darkness and Chaos, the mystical Scorpion-and-Dragon period:—"Other human figures were to be seen with the legs and horns of goats [Satyrs]; some had horses' feet, while others *united the hind quarters of a horse with the body of a man*. Bulls likewise were bred then with the heads of men* and dogs, with fourfold bodies, terminated in their extremities with the tails of fishes [like *Capricorn*]. In short, there were creatures in which were combined the limbs of every species of animals. Of all which *were preserved delineations* in the temple of Bêlos."† Most of the composite creatures of the monuments, *e.g.*, the winged and human-headed bulls of Khorsabad, are too familiar for special reference; and their symbolism, whether as combinations of wisdom and strength, or of evil, malignity, and ferocity, *e.g.*, the Demon of the South-west wind,‡ is sufficiently obvious. Sometimes we meet with the Man-lion; or, again, with fantastic creatures combining lion, eagle, gryphon, ram, etc., in a single form. The Man-bull is very prominent, and Êa-bani, the bull-slayer, although not strictly speaking a centaur, is yet always represented with the horns, feet, and tail of a bull.

Again, the expression "Horned-bull," may seem peculiar, but it is, as a fact, the exact name of the Urus (*Bos primigenius*), the Ak. *Am-śi* ("Horned-wild-bull"), As. *Rîmu*, Heb. *Rêm* (the 'Unicorn' of the A.V.), *i.e.*, the creature with huge horns; and it is perhaps still more singular that this very name is reproduced by Aratos, and applied by him to the zodiacal *Taurus*:—

"The horned Bull (κεραὸν Ταῦρον) fallen near the Driver's feet."§

* Vide *inf.*, p. 19. † *Chaldaika*, i, 4.

‡ A statue in the Louvre shows "this tyrant of the atmosphere. One can hardly imagine anything more frightful than his grinning, quasi-human countenance, resembling a death's head in some of its lines"; with "great round eyes and goat's horns . . . meagre body . . . hands large and flat, the fingers short and blunt, while the feet are a curious combination of human extremities with the talons of a bird of prey" (Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldaea and Assyria*, Eng. tran., Vol. ii, p. 80. As to the feet, *cf.* Fig. II).

§ *Phainomena*, 167; vide *Proceedings*, February, 1890, p. 186, Fig. I.

In further illustration of the passage I will next refer to the description of the *Centaur* by Aratos; and I think we shall arrive at some very curious and interesting results. Aratos says, in a passage which I have previously quoted (*Proceedings*, February, 1890, p. 202) that the *Centaur* underlies two Signs, the "human part" being below the *Scorpion*, and "the hinder-horse-part" below the *Claws*. His "right-hand," *i.e.*, the *kakkab Suzak*, is stretched out before the *Altar* and grasps the *Wild-beast*, which is included in the constellation. The tail of *Hydra*, also, is stretched over him, and his mighty back is on the Tropic of *Capricorn*. With the *Scorpion* come the *Centaur's* head and body.

> "and the *Wild-beast*, which
> The *Centaur's* right hand holds. But there await
> The coming *Bow* the *Centaur's* foremost feet;" *

Ἱππότα φηρός, lit. "of the *Horse-monster*. When the *Water-pourer* rises,

> "Sign-potent Night draws *Centaur* by the tail.
> His breastplate and his head and shoulders broad
> As yet she cannot take." †

. . . . . .

> "The *Centaur*, too, when first the *Fishes* rise,
> She quickly swallows." ‡

From the foregoing account it is clear that the figure of the constellational *Centaur* which Aratos had before him was, in all probability, not that of the ordinary Classical type, but represented a creature whose forelegs and feet were those of a man. And this becomes practically certain when we consider the centaur-figure represented on the famous chest of Kypselos, and remember that the Hellenic stellar *Centaur* was Cheirôn ("the Skilful," lit. 'Handy'), an adept in the arts of hunting, medicine, music, prophecy, and astronomy, a pupil of Apollôn, and an instructor of heroes.§ Kypselos, despot of Korinth, whose 30 years of sway began about B.C. 658, received his name from the chest (κυψέλη) in which he had been concealed when an infant.‖ This famous coffer, made of

* *Phainomena*, 661–3. † *Ibid.* 695–7. ‡ *Ibid.* 700–1.

§ For detailed consideration of *Centaurus*, vide R.B.Jr., *Eridanus, River and Constellation*, Sec. X. It is amusing to find Sir I. Newton maintaining that Cheirôn "delineated the constellations and was a practical astronomer" (vide Sir G. C. Lewis, *Astron. of the Ancients*, p. 73).

‖ Vide Herodotos, v. 92.

cedar-wood, ivory and gold, and "richly adorned with figures in relief," had, long ere his time, descended as a precious heirloom in his family; and we therefore see that the designs upon it must have been of a very archaic type. At the time of the traveller Pausanias this chest was one of the treasures of the temple of Hêra at Olympia, and he has left us a fairly full description of it. He says:—"And there is a centaur, not with all his feet horses' feet, for his forefeet are those of a man. . . And the tradition about the centaur is, that Cheirôn, although he had been removed from men, and had been thought worthy to be a companion with the gods, returned to earth to comfort Achilleus."* We thus see what was the special form of the Cheirôn depicted on the chest of Kypselos, and of the *Centaur* of Aratos, and now, fortunately, by the aid of two engraved stones from Western Asia, figured by Lajard,† I am enabled to carry back this special constellational group of *Centaur* and *Wild-beast* to within measurable distance of regions Euphratean.

Fig. I.—GUD-ELIM and the WILD-BEAST.
(Centaurus and Lupus, 1st type.)

Fig. I shows the *Centaur*, horned (*i.e.*, *elim*)‡ and winged, with his fore parts those of a man (*i.e.*, like the centaurs of Aratos and Kypselos), kneeling on one knee, in the familiar Gilgames attitude, which has been preserved in the constellation *Engonasin* (Hêraklês-

* Pausanias, V, xix, 2. † *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. cxviii, Figs. 19, 20.

‡ The horned, bearded, and human-headed Bull appears on a fragment of an engraved shell found by M. de Sarzec at Tello (*Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 66, Fig. 4), and is thus a very archaic Euphratean concept. Such a representation at once recalls the bearded, human-headed, Dionysiac Bull figured on some Greek coins (vide R. B., Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i, 390 *et seq.*); and is one of the innumerable links which connect Dionysos with the Euphrates Valley (vide *Proceeaings*, April, 1892, pps. 300-1; and the excellent remarks of the late

Hercules), and holding up by the hind legs the *Wild-beast*, the *kakkab Urbat* ("constellation *Beast-of-death*," vide *Proceedings*, Feb., 1890, p. 202), in this instance a boar, the animal hostile to the solar Adônis. Fig. II shows the *Centaur*, horned and winged, with human

Fig. II.—GUD-ELIM and the WILD-BEAST.
(Centaurus and Lupus, 2nd type.)

forelegs, but his forefeet those of eagles, a familiar Euphratean type;* and holding up by the forelegs the *Wild-beast*, in this instance a lion.† The animal-part of the body of the creature resembles in each case that of a horse. Another curious example of the *Centaur* is given by Cesnola,‡ which he describes thus:—"Another quaint toy of terra-cotta represents a centaur. On the head is a high helmet [the *Centaur* of Aratos wears a breast-plate], the crest of which is like a cock's comb [a solar emblem]; a small buckler, with a cross device, is on the left arm; the right arm is in the act of brandishing a now lost weapon." This weapon reappears in the Thyrsus-spear of the Ptolemaic *Centaurus*, which has become the simple spear of the modern constellation-figure, and with this he now transfixes the *Wild-beast*, which in Greece and the West naturally became the *Wolf*. That the wise Centaur Cheirôn, who

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Fox Talbot, *Transactions*, II, 33, on the origin of the name 'Dionysos'). The star 𒀭𒄑𒁍 (𒄑𒁍?) 𒀭𒄑𒁍𒁍𒁍

sprung from Kronos and a daughter of Ôkeanos, is, at all events so far as art goes, connected with the wise, unanthropomorphic Ea-bani ("Ea-made-me"), who "was believed to have originally ascended out of the abysses of the sea,"* is sufficiently obvious.† In both Figs. I and II, the right hand of the *Centaur*, the *Kakkab Suzak*, is much in evidence, and grasps the *Wild-beast* exactly as described by Aratos. The *Wild-beast* of Aratos was probably depicted head upwards, as in Fig. II, like the *Wild-beast* of Ptolemy, and the *Lupus* of a modern map.

The general treatment of the figures on the Chest of Kypselos, was distinctly oriental. Thus Pausanias observes: "Artemis, *I know not on what account* [*i.e.*, it was contrary to the general canons of Hellenic art] has wings at her shoulders, and in her right hand she holds a leopard, and in her left a lion." This is thoroughly in the spirit of Western Asia. The figures on the monuments represented as holding up various animals are too familiar for special reference.

Line 1 is unfortunately mutilated, so that the full name of the second constellation referred to can only be conjectured. In As. it is apparently to be read *Uplu nuri* ("The-Worm-of-light") or *Uplu tamti* ("The Worm-of-the-Sea"). In the latter case the reference may perhaps be to *Hydra*, "Lerna's worm," the tail of which, as noticed, extended over *Centaurus*. The Rev. Wm. Houghton has some interesting remarks‡ on the ideographs , "a small worm," and , 'worm,' the archaic type of the former character showing brightness (a star) in a circle, and probably originally referring "to some species of glow-worm." As the *Nahru Tsiri* ("River-of-the-Snake"), the *Nahru apśi rabi* ("River-of-the-Great-abyss"), is the Milky Way,§ "the Worm-of-light" may perhaps be the Γαλαξίας. The constellation *Centaurus*, of which the *Wild-beast* was a part, extended up to *Ara*, including what is now the constellation *Norma* (the *Rule*), which dates from 1752. *Centaurus*,' therefore, as well as *Ara*, included a portion of the Milky Way, which is likened by Manilius to a cloud of incense ascending from the *Altar*;—

"*Ara* ferens turis, stellis imitantibus ignem."||

* Smith and Sayce, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 205.

† Vide R.B., Jr., *Eridanus*, p. 25. ‡ *Transactions*, VI, 480.

§ Vide R.B., Jr., *The Milky Way in Euphratean Stellar Mythology* (in *The Academy*, Jan. 9, 1892).

|| *Astron.*, v, 340.

2. . . . . .
. . . Kakkabi Gu - śi - śa . . .
. . . *the-stars* *of-the-Leading-Urn* . . .

Gu is the *Urn*, the *Amphora* of *Aquarius* (vide *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 340), and appears as such in the Tablets of the Greek period of Babylonian astronomy.* With *Guśiśa* cf. *Kakśiśa* (*Ibid.*, April, 1892, p. 286). We have seen reason (*Ibid.*, Jan., 1890, p. 142) to identify "the Star (or constellation) of the Foundation" with *Sḳat* (δ *Aquarii*), also called *Sakib* ("the Pourer"), and the adjoining stars; and have noticed that the winter solstice was one natural commencement of the year. This consideration throws light upon the expression "the *Urn*, the *Leader*;" and its stars will be those of the *Urn* of *Aquarius*, and probably also those in "the flow of the water" from it, to use the expression of Ptolemy. The *Urn* is frequently figured on the monuments.†

3. . . . *the-star Right-hand-of-the-Horned-bull, the-god* . . .

4. . . . . .
Kakkab Su - gub - Gud - elim, 'ilu Iz - śi,
The-star *Left-hand-of-the-Horned-bull,* *the Fiery-one,* (*and*)

. . . . . .
kakkab Zi - ba - an - na innamar - u; 3 kakkabi
the-star *Boundary-of-heaven* *are-seen;* *three* *stars*

(. lacuna. . ?)
(rabi)
(*great*)

"The Star of the *Left-hand*" is alluded to in *W.A.I.* III, lix, No. 15, Rev. l. 13, and is there mentioned next to the *Scorpion*, a circumstance which tends to connect it with the part of the heavens occupied by *Centaurus*. It is probably *a Lupi*, and we may observe that a star will naturally be called 'great' by a comparatively rude astronomical observer, not in comparison with the other stars generally, but as contrasted with those in its own immediate neighbourhood.

* Vide Epping and Strassmaier, *Babylonische Mondbeobachtungen aus den Jahren* 38 *und* 79 *der Seleuciden-Aera* (in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Dec., 1892, p. 223).

† For instances, vide R.B., Jr., *The Law of Kosmic Oraer*, p. 84.

Izśi = *Mars* (vide *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 319).

Speaking against the view which identifies *Zibanna* with *El-zubêna* ("the *Claws*"), Professor Oppert remarks, "*Zibannit* est un 'sumersches Lehnwort' (Delitzsch) de *Ziba-anna*, et ne saurait donner 'eu à aucun calembour arabe, pour y trouver la balance."* I have held, with Professors Oppert and Sayce, that *Zibanna* = *Saturn* (vide *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 322), and the passage before us appears to speak of 3 stars, not constellations, namely (1) a particular star in the *Centaur*; (2) *Mars*, and (3) *Saturn*; nor, if we are to read *rabi*, is it easy to see how in any sense *α* and *β Libræ* could fairly be called 'great.' But, although I think it is clear that there is no linguistic connexion between the names *Zibanna* and *Zubêna*, yet there may have been some special connexion between *Zibanna*, *Saturn*, and the constelation of the *Altar*, afterwards known as the *Claws*. For, in the *Te Tablet* the special star of the 7th month is 'Ziba'- (*lacuna*), and the passage *W.A.I.*, V, xxvi, 11–12 would appear to show some connexion between [illegible], Ak. *bir*, As. *nûru*, 'light' (vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 260 *et seq.*), and the *libbu sa zibaniti*, whatever may be the exact meaning of the latter expression. I have noticed the special connexion between *Saturn* and the Sun (*Ibid.*, p. 248). and that the feeble autumnal sun is reduplicated in the faint light of the stellar and zodiacal *Ara* (*Ibid.*, p. 261); *Saturn* as *Zibanna*, may therefore be specially connected with *Ara* (=*Libra*). Prof. Oppert translates the name "Life-of-heaven," but this would rather be *Zi-anna* (*e.g.*, *Sib-zi-anna*). If we are to read *Zi-ba-anna* (and not *Zibanna*), the name may mean "Life-maker-of-heaven," an epithet apparently primarily solar, and so very applicable to the solar, circular *Altar*.

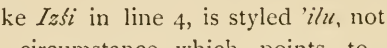
5. [illegible]
Kakkab Iz - si, kakkab Ner - gub - Gud- elim
The-star the Fiery-one, The-star Left-foot-of-the-Horned-bull (*and*)

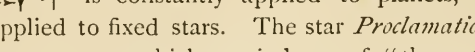
[illegible]
'ilu Zi - ba - an - na innamar - u; kakkab
Boundary-of-heaven are-seen; the-star

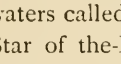
[illegible] . . .
Rim - ab - nam . . .
{*Proclamation-of-the-gathering-of-the-seas . . .*}

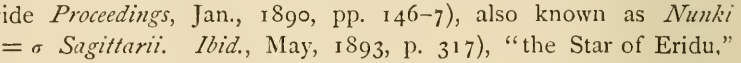
* *Zeitschrift für As.*, March, 1891, p. 112, note.

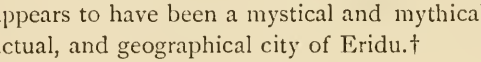
The *Left-foot* (As. *Sepu sumelu*) of the *Centaur* will probably be or include *β Crucis*. It will be observed that here *Zibanna*, like *Iśśi* in line 4, is styled *'ilu*, not the ordinary (*kakkab*), a circumstance which points to planetary dignity; for, whilst is constantly applied to planets, is rarely, if ever, applied to fixed stars. The star *Proclamation-of-the-gathering-of-the-seas*, a name which reminds us of "the gathering together of the waters called He seas," is apparently the *Kakkab Nabu tamti* ("The Star of the-Proclamation-of-the-sea"), 29th in the list of the Thirty Stars, and otherwise called the *Kakkab Tamti* ("Star of-the-Sea," vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, pp. 146–7), also known as *Nunki* (= *σ Sagittarii*. *Ibid.*, May, 1893, p. 317), "the Star of Eridu," "a city which took its name from its bow-like shape."* There appears to have been a mystical and mythical, as well as an archaic, actual, and geographical city of Eridu.†

6. 
4 kakkabi eśiri ana . . .
The four stars propitious for . . .

7. 
Kakkab Iz - śi û kakkab Rim - ab - nam . . .
The-star the-Fiery-one and the-star { *Proclamation-of-the-gathering-of-the-seas . . .* }


ibassu - va
are, and

8. 
Kakkab Zi - ba - an - na innamir - u; kakkab
The-star Boundary-of-heaven is-seen; the-star


Ner - gub Gud - elim, karnu - su yubbal . . .
Left-foot of-the-Horned-bull, its horn disappears . . .

* Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 39. Prof. Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, p. 134, explains Eridu, a contraction for Eri-duga, as the "Good-city."

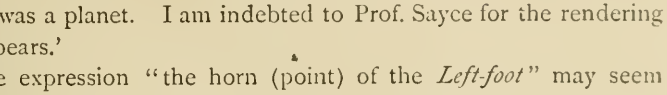
† Vide R.B., Jr., *Eridanus*, Sec. xxiii.

Zibanna, therefore, was seen at times with (line 5), and at times without the star of the *Left-foot;* and as *Zibanna* was certainly in the ecliptic (vide *Proceedings*, May 1893, p. 312), the inference is that it was a planet. I am indebted to Prof. Sayce for the rendering 'disappears.'

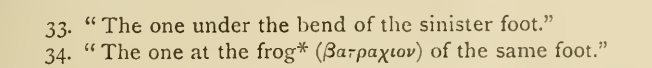
The expression "the horn (point) of the *Left-foot*" may seem somewhat strange, but it is really very curious when, in the list of the stars in the Ptolemaic *Centaur*, we read :—

33. "The one under the bend of the sinister foot."
34. "The one at the frog* (βατραχιον) of the same foot."

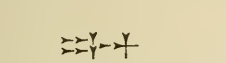
Indeed, the coincidence is so very singular, that I prefer to leave it without further comment.

9. 

Kakkab	Ku - ma - ru	Ud - gu - du - a
The constellation	*the Dusky-part*	*of-the-Smiting-sun-face,*



kakkab	Ega	Ud - gu - du - a,	kakkab
the-constellation	*Crown*	*of-the-Smiting-sun-face,*	*the-constellation*



Su - gub	(χi - bi) . . .
the Left-hand	(*wanting*) . . .

Doubtless the line originally read "the *Left-hand* of *Udgudua;*" and the scribe now not unnaturally passes on from one *Centaur* to the other, *i.e.*, *Udgudua-Sagittarius* (vide *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 332). We have here an interesting instance of 3 sub-constellations, the *Kumar*, the *Ega*, and the *Sugub* (As. *Sumelu*) of *Udgudua*. As the 'hand' and 'foot' of the *Horned-bull* are mentioned, so are the 'hand' and 'foot' (line 11) of *Udgudua*. And, these two creatures being distinct, it follows that, just as the former is the *Centaur*, so is the latter the other Centaur, *i.e.*, *Sagittarius*, a conclusion at which we had previously arrived from other and independent

* "*Frog.* In farriery, a sort of tender horn that grows in the middle of the sole of a horse's foot, dividing into two branches, and running towards the heel in the form of a fork" (*Imperial Dict. in voc.*).

reasons. A glance at the constellation-map will show that each of the two solar Centaurs is attacking a creature opposed, or specially devoted to the Sun; the *Scorpion* of darkness in the one case, and the *Wolf*, a familiar type of darkness, and also a creature at times connected with the Sun-god by play on words (λύκος—λευκός); the *Boar*, another emblem of darkness; or the *Lion*, the special animal of the Sun-god, in the other.

Kakkab-Kumaru. The first sub-division of *Sagittarius* is styled the *Kumaru.* The meaning of this word, which is As. in form, has, I believe, hitherto been unknown. A careful inspection of the constellation convinced me that the dusky hinder-part of *Sagittarius* was intended; and I was naturally led to compare *Kumaru* with כְּמָר, 'blackness,' whence the name of the Chemarîm,* *i.e.*, "the Black-robed-ones," "the idolatrous priests."† But this does not exhaust the matter, for, as might well be expected, *kumaru* is merely the Semitic form of an Akkadian loan-word *kumar*, connected with the Turko-Tatar root *kom*, *ḳum*, an allied variant of which is *tom*, *tum*,‡ one of the root-meanings of this latter form being 'darkness,' 'night,' 'mist.' And the connexion between the forms *ḳum* and *tum* equally appears in Sumero-Akkadian itself, where we find that *tum* = As. *χartsu*, 'obscurity.' Such words as the Uigur *ḳomar* and the Tchagatai *tomar*, which, though having a different signification, belong to the same word-group, illustrate the form of the Ak. *kumar*, which will, therefore, signify "the Dusky-part" of *Sagittarius*, just as Aratos styles the adjoining constellation "the Dusky-Goat."§ Thus, the 21st moon station, called *El-beldah* ("a District"), is a starless space in *Sagittarius*, "the vacant space between the Archer's shoulders and Capricorn's horns . . . Kázwini, Fírúzábádí, and Fízíní, mention *al-beldah* and its boundary of six dark or small stars, called *el-ḳeládah*, or necklace."‖ From this example we learn incidentally the interesting fact, that these star-names, or most of them, are Sumero-Akkadian in origin, the Altaic word *kumar* having been draped in a Semitic form.

* Zephaniah i, 4.

† A.V. 2 Kings xxiii, 5.

‡ Vide Vámbéry, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turko-Tatarischen Sprachen*, Secs. xcvii, clxxix.

§ *Phainomena*, 792.

‖ Smyth, *Cycle of Celestial Objects*, ii, 413. *El-beldah* is used of "the hairless space between the eyebrows."

Kakkab Ega. The second subdivision of *Sagittarius* is styled *Ega*, = As. *agu*, 'crown' (*i.e.*, halo), *uzzu*, 'glory.'* And here we have a further illustration of the meaning of *Kumaru;* for, as that is the 'dusky' hinder-part of *Sagittarius*, so *Ega-Uzzu* is the 'Glory,' or bright upper fore-part of the constellation, which part is elsewhere called *Papilsak* ('Winged-fire-head'†). As *Ega* means 'crown,' at first it seemed tempting to identify this constellation

Fig. III.—UDGUDUA (Sagittarius), and its subdivisions.

with the *Corona Australis*, sometimes called *Corolla* ("the Wreath"), which, in representations of the constellations, is placed immediately in front of the forefeet of *Sagittarius.* But, I think, this is clearly not the true interpretation of the text. The *Stephanos*

* For a play on words between the name of the Ak. solar god *Uz* ('Goat,' vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 300; June, 1893 p. 462), and the Semitic word *uzzu*, vide Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, p. 285.

† Vide R.B., Jr., *The Te Tablet* (In *The Academy*, Nov. 4, 1893, p. 396). My suggestion (*Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 266) that *Papilsak* was not in *Sagittarius*, must be withdrawn in the light of the further evidence.

Notios is noticed by Aratos, but even in his day it had not yet received this name :—

"Other few
Below the *Archer* under his forefeet,
Led round in circles roll without a name." *

And here I would call attention to the fact, that the *Sagittarius* of Aratos evidently resembled the Euphratean type (vide Fig. III), and not the ordinary classical and modern type, in the position of his forelegs or leg, which were over the *Corolla*, instead of being immediately behind it, as *e.g.*, on the Farnese Globe.† This is one of the innumerable interesting indications that Aratos had before him constellation figures whose prototypes belonged to Western Asia.

Kakkab-Sugub. The 3rd subdivision of *Sagittarius*, is "the constellation of the *Left-hand*;" and we see at once, from Fig. III, the position of prominence of the *Left-hand*, and from the latter we obtain part of the southern boundary of the sub-constellation *Ega* (= *Papilsak*).‡

The Ptolemaic description of the stars shown in Fig. III is as follows :—

I. Stars in the *Kakkab Ega* (*Papilsak*).

λ. "The more-southerly of those in the northern part of the bow."
μ. "The more-northerly of them at the end of the bow."
σ. "The one at the left shoulder."
φ. "The one in front of this towards the shaft."
ν^1, ν^2. "The nebulous and double star at the eye."
ξ. "The leading-one of the 3 in the head."
ο. "The centre-one of them."
π. "The hindermost of the 3."
τ. "The centre-one of the 3 in the back, towards the shoulder-blade."
ζ. "The one below the armpit."

* *Phainomena*, 399–401.

† Flamsteed, *Atlas Coelestis*, 1729, places the *Corona Australis* between the two forelegs. Proctor, improperly, places the two forelegs in the midst of the *Crown*. The *Staphanos Notios* is a distinct constellation in Ptolemy.

‡ Hommel (*Die Astronomie der alten Chaldäer*, iii, 12) appears to place 'Pa-bil-sag' somewhere between θ *Ophiuchi* and π *Sagittarii*.

II. Stars in the *Kakkab-Sugub* ("the Constellation of the *Left-hand*").

γ^1, γ^2. "The star at the point of the arrow."
δ. "The one at the grip of the left hand."

III. Other stars shown.

ϵ. "The one in the southern part of the bow."
β^1, β^2. "The one at the ancle of the left forefoot."
a. "The one at the knee of the same leg."

Hence, the *Sagittarius* of Ptolemy, the prototype of modern figures, had the foreleg straight, unlike the Euphratean type of Aratos. The *Sagittarius* of Ptolemy wore a "martial cloak," which is often represented, *e.g.*, in Flamsteed's *Atlas Coelestis*, as flying in the air, as if blown out by the wind. In this garment we may readily see the wing of the original Euphratean figure. Another interesting instance of the *Sagittarius*-type occurs on a monument in the British Museum.* The general attitude and position and the wing are similar to those shown in Fig. III; but the bow-string appears, and is grasped by the right hand. The two forelegs are broken off at the knees, the tail is that of a scorpion, and behind, attached to the human head and facing tailwards, is the head of a gryphon. Below the *Sagittarius*, and with his claws towards the *genitalia*, as so frequently figured in Mithraic representations, is a scorpion; so Manilius, "Scorpios inguine gaudet."† According to C. W. King, "in this particular situation it expresses Autumn"‡ in the Mithraic symbolism; and this circumstance is in exact and interesting harmony with the rôle which we have seen the zodiacal *Scorpion* play in connexion with the waning, autumnal sun (vide *Proceedings*, Feb., 1890, p. 198; March, 1891, pp. 261–2). But the earlier and wider symbolism is diurnal, not annual, *i.e.*, that of the darkness-power seizing on and destroying light day by day: and it is interesting to notice the Euphratean origin of this peculiar artistic feature in the Mithraic cult. We have in this design another

* Figured in Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Phœnicia and its dependencies*, ii, 204.

† *Astron.*, ii, 462.

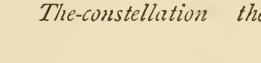
‡ *The Gnostics and their Remains*, 2nd edit., p. 134.

(vide *Ibid.*, March, 1891, p. 265) instance of the *Scorpion-Sagittary*, the figure combining the potency and protective power of two zodiacal signs, not to mention the solar Gryphon.* MM. Perrot and Chipiez remark, "We have yet to find the form of centaur preferred by archaic Greek art on some monuments from Phœnicia or Mesopotamia." They will find this long-lost link in Fig. I; for the Cheirôn of the chest of Kypsalos is the true representative of this form. And the same type appears in Kypros, for they figure a centaur† who "wears a cap of cloth or felt," like the *Sagittarius* above described. "The hind-legs are formless, but in the other pair, clumsy as they are, we can divine the sculptor's wish to reproduce human limbs; the rudiments of a [human] foot and knee can be readily distinguished. This centaur, therefore, is composed of the whole body of a man with the middle-piece and quarters of a horse added to it." That is to say, it exactly resembles Fig. I in this respect.

10.

kakkab Za - ma - ma, 4 kakkabi nas - u

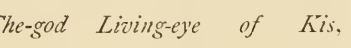
The-constellation the-Living-eye, four constellations rise;



kakkab Ner - (χibi)

the-star Foot- (wanting)

The second star is probably *Nerzak-Zamama* ("the-Right-foot-of-the-Living-eye"). In *W.A.I.*, II, lxi, 52, we read:—



'Ilu Za-ma-ma sa Kisu,

The-god Living-eye of Kis,

"a great town in Babylonia, now represented by the mounds of Hymer,"‡ and mentioned in Tablet XII of the Gilgames Epic.

* Vide R. B., Jr., *Remarks on the Gryphon, Heraldic and Mythological* (in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XLVIII).

† *Hist. of Art in Phœnicia*, etc., ii, 200.

‡ Geo. Smith, in *Transactions*, iii, 364.

The word *kis* is akin to the Turko-Tatar root *ḳis*, *ḳiz*, 'fire,' 'warmth,' 'redness,' "to glow," whence the Uigur *ḳis*, 'fiery,' and numerous similar words in the various connected dialects, with meanings such as 'gold,' 'red,' etc. Sometimes the consonant in the root is abraded, and we meet with such forms as the Tchagatai *is*-ik, *is*-sig, 'warmth,' Yakute *it*-i, and Koibal-Karagass *is*-seg,* 'hot,' which = the Ak. *iz-śi*. 'fiery' (*sup.*, line 5). *Kis*, As. *Kisu*, is, then, "the Fire-town," a centre of a solar cult;† so far, therefore, it seems probable that Zamama was a solar divinity. His name occurs at times in the lists of gods,‡ and in *W.A.I.*, II, lvii, Rev. Col. A, line 53, we read :—

Kakkub Id-χu, 'ilu Za-ma-ma | 'ilu Nin-ip
The Constellation the-Eagle (i.e.) the god Zamama | the-God the-Lord, the Creator.

Here the *Eagle* is identified with Zamama, and both are identified, or closely connected, with Ninip, "die Ostsonne,"§ the solar Uras ("the Veiled," vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, pp. 302–3). But further: we find that "Alála ("the Great-spirit") the Eagle," mentioned in the Gilgames Epic Tablet VI, was "the symbol of the noontide sun;"|| so we have here the solar eagle, and the solar divinity Ninip-Uras,¶ both identical, or most closely connected with the evidently solar god Zamama. What, then, is the meaning of the name Zamama? The ordinary signification of the first syllable *za*, *tsa*, is '4;' but, as I have shown (*Proceedings*, Feb., 1888) the Ugro-Altaic '4'-word, is an 'eye'-word, and the line of idea which arrives at '4' is represented by (Hand + hand + eye) + eye.** We may

* Vide Vámbéry, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 89–90.

† It was one of the 20 "oldest known cities" of Babylonia (Vide Smith and Sayce, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, 313).

‡ Vide *W.A.I.* III, lxvi, 45; lxviii, 62; lxix, 78.

§ Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 457.

|| *Cf.* Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, p. 248; vide R.B., Jr., *The Myth of Kirkê*, Sec. ix, for an account of Istar-Kirké and her luckless lovers Dumuzi (Tammuz), 'Alála, the Eagle," the 'Lion,' and the 'Horse.'

¶ It is interesting to find that Uras, the 'Veiled' or 'Secret' god, is, in the Tel el-Amarna Tablets, identified with the god of Jerusalem :—

> No. 106, l. 15; "The city of the mountain of Urusalim, the city of the temple of the god Uras (whose) name (there is) 'Salim'."
> (Ap. Sayce, *Records of the Past*, new series, v, 72.)

** For Table of '4' and 'eye' words, vide R.B., Jr., *The Etruscan Numerals* p. 20.

therefore regard *za* in this archaic divinity-name as meaning 'eye.' *Ma-ma* is an abraded form of *mal-ma*, *mal-mal*;* and the Ak. *mal* = As. *sakanu*, "to be established," and *bitu*, 'house' (*i.e.*, that which is established; *e.g.*, "by understanding is an house established,' *Prov.*, xxiv, 3). *M* and *v* are interchangeable in Akkadian, and the Ak. *mal*, *val* = the Turko-Tatar *var*, *bar*, "to be," "to exist," *e.g.*, Tchagatai *bar*, Osmanli *var*, "it is," Tshuwash *par*, "to be," "to exist," etc.† *Mal* is therefore "to be," "to exist," and hence "to be established." We need not here trace it further back, or enquire whether in primitive idea "to be" = "to breathe;" and, as the Altaic *par* = "to be," 'existence,' so will *mal* = 'existence,' "the existing,' doubled by way of intensity, after an archaic fashion, the solar god Zamama thus being "the Living-eye."

The originally solar Zamama is next, in accordance with a principle of which we have had innumerable examples, and without grasping which mythology is incomprehensible, reduplicated in a stellar form; and, in this phase, is identified with the *Eagle*. But, it will be remembered that, by almost universal consent, *Idχu* or *Erigu* ("the Powerful-bird") is identified with *Altair* (*α Aquilæ*, vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, pp. 294-6). The fact is that there are two *Eagles* in the case: (1) *Idχu Zamama* ("the *Eagle*, the *Living-eye*") = *Aquila* (the constellation), and (2) *Idχu* ("the *Eagle*" star) = *Altair*; and, if anyone is inclined to doubt this, he will find on reference to Ptolemy's Star-catalogue, that *both these eagles reappear in it*, the constellation being Ἀετοῦ ἀστέρισμος, and the principal star in it ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεταφρένου λαμπρὸς καλούμενος Ἀετός. Thus the Tablet describes the rising of *Sagittarius* (in 3 divisions) and *Aquila* (Fig. IV).

Fig. IV.—ZAMANA (Aquila).

The representation of the *Eagle*, "ein schreitender Vogel," as Hommel well calls it, is, like many of the bird-figures on the monuments, a purely conventional type.

* *Cf.* Lenormant, *Étude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes*, p. 23.

† Vide Vámbéry, *Wörterbuch*, p. 198.

11. Kakkab Ur - ner - gub Ud - gu - du - a, Kakkab
The-star Sole-of-the-Left-foot of-the-Smiting-sun-face, the-star

Dil-bat A - nu - tum
Venus of-the-Great-Goddess (Istar)

12. Va kakkab Su - (χibi) . . .
And the-constellation Hand - (wanting) . . .

The first star is *β Sagittarii* (vide *sup.*, p. 27), and the last, "the constellation of the *Left-hand* of *Udgudua* (vide line 9). The "star *Venus* of Anunit" is not the *kakkab Anunitum* (vide *Proceedings*, Feb., 1890, p. 203), which represents *Istar-Venus* reduplicated in a stellar form, but the planet *Venus* in *Sagittarius*.

13. Kakkab Uz, kakkab Ner - zak Za - ma - ma va
The-star of-the-Goat, the-star Right-foot-of-the-Living-eye, and

kakkab Id - χu, 3 kakkabi (χibi) . . .
the-star the-Eagle (Altair), three stars (wanting) . . .

Nerzak-Zamama = *η Aquilae* (*vide* Fig. V). Fig. II in the *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 340, shows the part of the heavens referred to.

14. 2 biritu : kakkab
Two conjunctions : the-star

Id - χu sumuq same
the-Eagle (is) at the zenith (lit. *height-of-heaven*).

The term 'conjunction' is not here used in the astronomical sense of "the meeting of two or more stars or planets in the same degree of the Zodiac," but is applied to two stars or constellations rising about the same time and about the same longitude. So we read in Aratos:—

> "When the *Goat* rises . . . . . others mount,
> The feathered *Arrow's* stars, the *Eagle*, *Bird*." *

The As. *biritu*, Heb. *berîth*, 'covenant,' is said to be so called from "the idea of cutting" (victims on the making of agreements): and the line of thought connected with this use of the word is:—cutting—sacrifice—covenant—(astronomically) conjunction. This is equally illustrated by the Ak. term of which *birit* is the As. rendering. The passage in Ak. reads:—

> Kas sa-ba-an-na sa-ba-an-na.
> *Two covenants (conjunctions) of heaven.*

The word has generally been read *ribi-anna*, but I read *saba-anna* because 𒊩𒁹𒌅 also = *sa* and the Ak. *sa-ba* is evidently connected with the Ak. *sab*, *sap*, "to sacrifice," and the Turkic *sefa*, 'agreement,' the whole class of words belonging to the Turko-Tatar root *sap*, *śab*, *ćap*, "to hew," 'cut,' *e.g.*, the Altaic *saba*, 'cut.'† Both the Semitic and Turanian words, therefore, proceed on the same line of thought. The noontide or zenith Eagle-sun (vide *sup.*, p. 31) is thus reduplicated in the zenith Eagle-star; and Fig. V illustrates the process of the formation of the constellation-figure in archaic idea.

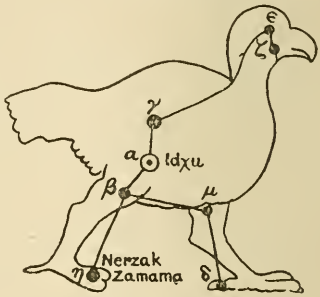


Fig. V.—AQUILA.
(Illustration of the formation of the constellational figure.)

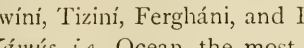
15. 𒀭𒀭𒆠𒁹 𒄑𒆠𒁹𒆠𒁹𒆠𒁹𒆠𒁹 𒀭𒀭𒆠𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹

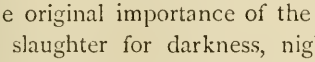
Kakkab Gu - ur - ku, kakkab Uz,
The-constellation Seat-of-the-flowing-waters, the-star of-the-Goat,

𒀭𒀭𒆠𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹

The Ak. *gur* = As. *apśu*, "running water," and one of the renderings of the Ak. *ku*, 'seat,' is As. *subat-sa-apśi* ("Seat-of-the-running-water"). The constellation in question consists of the stars in *Aquarius* from *Situla* ("the *Urn*," κ *Aquarii*) to that which Ptolemy calls "the last (star) of the *Water*, and the one at the mouth of the *Southern Fish*" (α *Piscis Australis*).*

Sakśadi. This is a new and interesting star. The Ak. *sak.* = 'head,' 'horn;' the Ak. *śa*, amongst other meanings, = As. *maχatsu*, 'slaughter,' and *di* is 'brilliance.' The star in question is β *Capricorni*. These two stars *Uz* and *Śakśadi*, which form the 22nd moon-station, are called by the Arabs *Sa'd-el-dsâbih* ("The-lucky-constellation-of-the-Slaughterer"); and it is very interesting to find the original Akkadian name thus reproduced. Smyth observes, "Although Capricorn is not a striking object, it has been the very pet of all constellations with astrologers, having been the fortunate sign under which Augustus and Vespasian were born." But its good-omened character was not occasioned by or dependent on these two personages, although their fortunes served to enhance its reputation. He continues, "It was also mightily looked to by the Arabians . . . the XXIInd Lunar Mansion was a popular one: and Kazwíní, Tiziní, Ferghání, and Firúzabádí of Khorasan, author of the *Ḳámús*, *i.e.*, Ocean, the most famous of all Arabic Lexicons, mention its happy tendency."† Thus, alike in East and West, was *Capricorn* a fortunate Sign, the real reason of this circumstance being the original importance of the Goat-sun, with its bright horn (ray) of slaughter for darkness, night, and stars, the *Sea-goat* or *Goat-fish* being his stellar reduplication.

16. 
Vâ kakkab Id - χu . . .
and the-star the Eagle . . .

17. 
kakkab Gu - la, kakkab Gu - ur - (ku) . . .
The-constellation of-the-Urn, the constellation Seat-of-flowing-waters . . .

* For remarks on the celestial seat of the waters, vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, p. 149.

† *Cycle of Celestial Objects*, ii, 473.

Vide l. 15. *Gu* is the *Urn* of *Aquarius* (vide *sup.*, l. 2. For further illustration of the word, vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 268). *La* is the emphatic prolongation (cf. *Bartabbagalgal-la*, *Dingirgalgal-la*, *Ibid.*, Feb., 1890, pp. 185, 187).* But the name *Gu-la* thus contains a punning reference to the goddess *Gula* ("the Great"), who was identified with the goddess 𒀭𒄩 𒁹𒌋𒌋𒌋, Ba-hu (= Heb. *bohu*, 'wasteness,' *Gen.* i, 2), the Phœnician Baau, this latter personage being the representative of the Ak. *Gurra* ("the Watery-deep"), "the waters of the abyss in their original chaotic state" (vide *Proceedings*, May, 1888, p. 351), and thus suitably connected with the constellation *Aquarius*, and the foundation and watery commencement of things (vide *Ibid.*, Jan., 1890, p. 143). Bahu "became the wife of the Sun-god of Kis,"† *i.e.*, of Zamama (vide *sup.*, p. 31); and it was very possibly the proximity of the *Kakkab Gula* and the *Kakkab Idχu* which caused this formal mythological arrangement. In *W.A.I.* III, liii, No. 1, Rev., l. 22, the *Kakkab Gula* is mentioned in connexion with the *Kakkab Idχu*, and in l. 29 in connexion with the *Goat-fish;* and from *W.A.I.* III, liii, No. 2, Rev., l. 24, we learn that in Kisleu, the month of *Sagittarius*, *Venus*, a planet referred to here (vide l. 15), was called 𒀭𒄩 𒄀𒄀𒄀 𒁹𒌋𒌋, *Kakkab Gula*, "the Star of the *Urn*." Other references speak of *Jupiter* in *Gula* (vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, p. 148).

18. . . . 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒄀𒄀𒄀 𒄩𒄩𒄩 . . .
. . . (kakkabi) Gu - śi - (śa, *Cf.* l. 2)
. . . (*stars*) *of-the-Leading-Urn* . . .

The passage is too mutilated to translate with certainty. But the meaning seems fairly clear, especially when compared with l. 2: "the stars of Guśiśa," namely that *Gula* and *Gurku* are asterisms in the zodiacal constellation of Guśiśa, which constellation apparently consisted of the hinder part of our *Aquarius*, and did not include *β Aquarii*, which we have seen reason to identify with the *Kakkab Nammaχ* ("the Star of Mighty-destiny," vide *Proceedings*, June, 1893, p. 457), and the other stars above *Capricorn*, and now in *Aquarius*. *Gula*, from the comparatively frequent mention of it, was evidently the most important part of *Guśiśa;* and the reason of this is obvious, *i.e.*, that the asterism of *Gula* is close on the ecliptic (vide *Ibid.*, May, 1893, Fig. II, p. 340).

* Vide R. B., Jr., *The Te Tablet* (in *The Academy*, Nov. 4, 1893. p. 396).

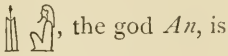
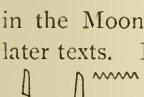
† Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, p. 263; vide *W.A.I.* III, lxviii, 33.

THE BOW IN THE EGYPTIAN SKY. (2)

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

Just about eleven years ago, I published in these *Proceedings* (March, 1884), a note bearing the above title, and explaining a passage in the Book of the Dead (ch. 132), wherein the Sun-god is said to issue from "the Bow." I showed that this Bow is the *Crescent* of the Moon, from which the Sun-god is said to shine forth.

But I am surprised that neither I, nor (as far as I know) any other Egyptologists, have hitherto recognised in the texts another mythological expression of the same idea of the Bow, as the Sun shining forth from the Moon.

Yet every Egyptologist is aware that  , the god *An*, is Osiris, and that this is his special name, when he is supposed to be residing in the Moon.* He is generally known in this capacity from the later texts. But the Pyramid Texts mention him under the forms  , or coupled with some other word, but always in some connection with the Bull of Heaven, or of the Tuat.

in these and similar texts has commonly been translated *column, pillar, support;* but this is a mistake. The word has various meanings, and among them that of *bow* is conspicuous. The evidence for this meaning is so well-known and so undisputed that I need not repeat it.

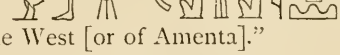
Hathor, the female Sun at Dendera, who bears the name of *Ánit*, is called "Mistress of the Bow and queen of the arrow."

It is not easy to say how comes to mean *Bow*, which it does not at all resemble, and how it also comes to mean *column, obelisk,*

* "Der Gott *An* ist der Osiris in seiner lunaren Natur, in welcher Auffassung er in Edfu und noch mehr im Tempel von Dendera eine ganz besonders Verehrung genoss." Dümichen, *Zeitschr.*, 1871, p. 29.

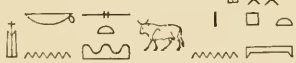
pyramid, etc., but it is evident that the notion which underlies all these applications must be akin to what we mean in speaking of a *shoot*, or of a column as something *élancé*.

With this meaning of the word we shall now obtain a very intelligible sense of several passages in well-known texts.

The 53rd invocation in the *Litanies of Rā* addresses that divinity as  "god of the shining horn, Bow of the West [or of Amenta]."

Let us compare with this another invocation, from the Pyramid Texts; "O *Ân*, [steer] great in ploughing, who art Prince in the Tuat; lo, she cometh to meet thee, the Fair Amenta . . . to meet thee, with her beautiful locks—and she saith: 'here cometh he who is born of the god of the shining Horn, the Bow which is tipped with stibium, the Bull of Heaven," *Unas*, .

The extremities or tips of the Bow are called *horns* in Egyptian as in Greek (cf. *Odyss.*, *φ*. 359), and the horns suggest the notion of the horned animal. The Moon is called by the Greek poets κερόεσσα, ταυρόκερως, ταυρώτης, and even the curious epithet "tipped with stibium" has its counterpart in the ἀκροκελαινιόωσα of Nonnus of Panopolis.

Just before the passage I have quoted from the inscription of Unas, the god is called "the Bow of the Stars" (εὐάστερος), and  "the Bow of Konsit, the Bull of Heaven." (Konsit is here probably taken in a mythological not geographical sense. The 'sleepers' in Konsit [Teta 65] are gods like the 'sleepers' in Heliopolis, Tmu and his two children.)

I will not at present proceed in a subject which admits of a considerable amount of illustration and development.

THE KARIAN AND LYDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

By Professor A. H. SAYCE.

Since the publication of my Paper on the Karian Language and Inscriptions in the *Transactions* of this Society, Vol. IX, pt. 1, I have collected several fresh inscriptions which are written in the Karian alphabet. Most of these I copied last winter in the temple of Thothmes III at Wadi Halfa. The greater part of the temple has recently been cleared of sand by Captain Lyons, and it was on the walls and columns of the newly-excavated portion that I found the *graffiti* in qnestion. They seem to point to the existence of a Karian garrison on the spot in the age of the XXVIth dynasty, or of the Persian dynasties which followed. At least it is otherwise difficult to account for them. A comparison of them with the Karian inscriptions of Abu Simbel shows that none of them could have been engraved by the mercenaries to whom the Abu Simbel *graffiti* probably belong. Greek inscriptions at Wadi Halfa, it may be noted, are very few in number. In the temple of Thothmes III the most careful searching only revealed three. One of these is written in letters the forms of which are those of the Greek *graffiti* of Abu Simbel, though the sandstone on which they were scratched is so weathered that very little of them is now decipherable. In fact the only word that I could read with certainty is ΣΤΡΑΤΕΓΟΝ. A second consists of the single name ΑΔΑΜΑΣ, while the third is as follows :—

ΓΑCIME
ΝΗCΚΥΡΗΝΑΙΟC Β
ΙΑΣΩΝΚΥΡΗΝΑΙΟΣ Α

The letters belong to the second or third century B.C., and it is interesting to find that the two forms of the *sigma*, C and Σ, occur together. The B and A probably signify "second" and "first."

I will now take the Karian texts in the order in which they have been reproduced upon the accompanying plate, transliterating them in accordance with the values I have assigned to the letters of the Karian alphabet in my former Paper.

I. 1. Ô-u-n-d-ḷ-kh-a s-mi a-v-o-e-g mi-g-ä-o-v-ü u-v-o-v-ü a-kh ô(?)-v-h(?)-e. This inscription is clearly and deeply cut on a column on the south side of the first court of the temple. The syllable *mig* is found in two of the *graffiti* published in my former Paper (IV, 5, 11).

2. Â(?)-ĕ ? m-a-d mi-*-o-â-w a-o(?)-v-ü u-v-*-n(?) . . . h-e. These letters are written on the third column, starting from the south, of the first court. They are too much obliterated to make a continuous reading of them possible. Some letters may be lost at the end of the first line. In this case we may have the name Madys which occurs at Abydos (IV, 6, 9, 10).

3. Ä-n-a-e-th(?)-d-. . Written on a broken block.

4. Me-s-n-a-w-wu E-v-v-s-e-ü. Mesnawwu is evidently the same name as Mesnbai which occurs on the Lausanne Stele from Memphis (II, 4) and Mesnabai at Abu-Simbel (I, 1). The father's name *Ev(a)vse* is also clearly the same as that written Evavse and Ävavssâ at Abydos (IV, 2, 3). The inscription is on a broken block.

5. Me-s-n-a-w-wu. On an isolated block.

6. These two inscriptions are on a column to the south-east. The first of them does not seem to be in the Karian alphabet, but their obliterated condition makes the reading uncertain.

7. This *graffito* is on the second column of the first court, starting from the south. It may be read as Cypriote *se-re-ta-ve-ta*, but I am inclined to think it is more probably intended to be Karian.

II. 1. I discovered this inscription three years ago on the lower part of the southern side of a large boulder of stone on the eastern bank of the Nile, opposite Silweh, and about two miles to the north of the Shat er-Rigaleh. At the corner of a Wadi, about a hundred yards to the north of it, is the hieroglyphic *graffito*: . The characters were clearly cut, though I was not certain about one or two of them owing to a slight attack of ophthalmia from which I was suffering at the time. The following year, accordingly, I revisited the spot in order to verify my copy, and was much disgusted at finding that during the interval, the boulder had been

I. Wadi Halfa: (1.)

(2.)

(3)

(4.)

(5.)

(6.)

(7.)

II. North of Silsilis. (1.)

(2)

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

KARIAN AND LYDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

utilised as the basis of a telegraph post, and the inscription upon it ruthlessly destroyed. What makes this the more deplorable is that the inscription contains letters, or forms of letters, not found elsewhere in the Karian texts, so that it probably represents a local form of the alphabet and a local dialect.

2. E-v-a-s-a(?) k-*-ô(?)-a-r(?)-v-k-r-k(?)- . . This is inscribed on the summit of a rock, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the last-mentioned inscription. The numerous Greek and hieroglyphic *graffiti* scribbled on the rock show that it must have been regarded as sacred, and even at the present day offerings of corn are made by the natives to the spirit of a "sheikh" who is supposed to haunt it, and are placed by them in a hollow on the top. One of the Greek inscriptions runs: *Τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀπολλωνίου Γυμνοῦ.* Evasa is evidently the same name as Evavsa or Evavse, noticed above.

III and IV. No. III is a copy of an inscription on a lentoid gem or "island-stone" sent to me in 1886 by Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter. He informed me that the stone was steatite, and that it was the property of a monk, in whose family it had been for the last hundred years. It was found in the neighbourhood of Paphos, and is engraved on both sides, the inscription being on the convex side, while on the other side is the figure of a hippocampus. If the copy is correct, I do not know how to read it. Were it not for the square at the top, the characters might be regarded as Cypriote. For the sake of comparison I have added (No. IV) the copy of an inscription on an unpublished bead, now in the Ashmolean Museum, which is certainly Cypriote, in spite of the second character to the left. It reads: pe-mo-ta-ka-ko-ya-ta. How this is to be interpreted I do not know.

V. This inscription I copied two years ago on a rock on the western bank of the Nile, about a mile to the north of Silsilis, my dahabiyeh having happened to have been moored for the night just under it. The inscription was cut on the edge of the sandstone rock overhanging a quarry which had been excavated subsequently to the time when it had been engraved along with other (hieroglyphic) inscriptions which the quarrymen had afterwards cut away. These inscriptions are for the most part of the age of the XIth and XIIth dynasties, and several of them contain the name of Mentuhotep. Greek *graffiti* of the age of the Ptolemies which are inscribed on the quarried surface of the stone show that the quarrying cannot

have taken place later than the Greek period of Egyptian history. Two of the *graffiti* are as follows :—

(1) ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟC (2) ΑΛΕΞΑC ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟΥ
ΚΑΛΛΙΔΡΟΜΟΥ ΗΚΩ
ΕΨΕΝ . . . . .

The inscription is somewhat difficult to copy, as it is on the very edge of the cliff formed by the quarry, and for one who stands on the edge, looks the wrong way, showing that the engraver must have sat on a piece of rock that was subsequently excavated away. On the other hand the letters, especially of the second line, are several inches in length, and are very deeply cut, so that their forms are perfectly distinct.

I believe that it is a specimen of the long-lost Lydian alphabet and language. We learn from the inscriptions of Assur-bani-pal that the foreign forces with whose help Psammetichos revolted from Assyria, were sent to him by Gyges of Lydia, and consequently though Herodotos mentions only Karians and Ionians, there must have been Lydians among them. Now though the *graffiti* of Karian and Ionian mercenaries have been found in Egypt, no record of the Lydians has hitherto turned up. It was, however, reasonable to expect that one would be discovered sooner or later. The alphabet, again, points to Lydia. The letters belong, in general type, to the Phrygian alphabet, but certain differences in form between them and the Phrygian characters make it evident that the alphabet employed is not that of Phrygia. Nor is it that of Kappadokia, an example of which is known. The alphabets of Kilikia, Pisidia, Lykia and Karia belong to wholly different alphabetic systems, so that of all the populations whose alphabets were derived from the Phrygian, and who were likely to have visited Upper Egypt, the Lydians alone are left. Lastly, the names at the beginning of the second line are distinctively Lydian. Alys reminds us of the Lydian Aly-attês, and Mṛshtl which follows would naturally be a patronymic. Now we learn from Herodotos (I, 7 ; see also III, 122) that the Lydian king Kandaulês was called Myrsilos by the Greeks, because he was the son of Myrsos, from which we may infer that in the Lydian language the suffix -(*i*)*l* denoted the patronymic. It may be added that the characters engraved on the base of one of the columns presented by the Lydian Krœsos to the temple of Ephesus,

and published by Sir Charles Newton in the *Transactions* of this Society (IV, 2), are identical with the characters of the Silsilis text.

Our knowledge of the Phrygian alphabet enables us to read the second line of what I will now call the Lydian inscription without any difficulty. It runs; A-l-us M-ṛ-sh-t-ḷ z-u-l; "Alys the son of Mṛsht . . .". The first line of the inscription appears to be by a different hand. The characters in it are much smaller than those in the first line, and are not formed in quite the same way. Nor is it easy to decipher. Perhaps it may be read ḷ-kh-w-e-g.

VI. This inscription is lightly scratched on a small plaque of steatite which was found at Sardes, and presented by the Rev. Greville Chester to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. If it is genuine, it will also be Lydian. But I am too doubtful about its character to attempt to read it.

It now only remains for me to add one or two notes upon my Paper on the Karian Inscriptions. The obliterated word in the first line of the longest of the Abydos *graffiti* (IV, 32) can be improved. A recent inspection of the inscription has shown me that the word is I ᶜ⦶P⁝⁝⁝\. Mr. Theodore Bent has visited Skopi, and made an improved copy of the Karian inscription there (No. VII). As compared with Hamner-Purgstall's copy, the last letter of the first line is W\, which occurs again in the inscription I copied near Silsilis (II, 1), and the 5th and 6th letters probably form the single letter W. In line 2, Mr. Bent makes the last letter but one P, while the 3rd letter is ⊕; in line 3, the 3rd letter is V\, and in line 4, the 3rd and 4th letters are F and ⊖, as in the copies of Forbes and Hoskyns.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON A FRAGMENT OF THE ADAPA-LEGEND.

Dr. Bezold's note in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (IX, 4, p. 405), so far as it concerns myself, demands just so much of an answer as is conveyed by the following statement of facts. My note was in the printer's hands on the 18th of May, 1894; the first proof was corrected and returned before the end of May, and the second in the first week in June. The first part of the ninth volume of the *Zeitschrift*, containing Dr. Bezold's article, was sent to me by my bookseller on the 15th of June, when the separate copies of my note had already begun to be printed off. These facts are of themselves sufficient to exhibit the character of Dr. Bezold's assumption that I had seen his article, though I did not refer to it; indeed it would seem that "es musz hier ein *Missverständniss* vorliegen."

S. ARTHUR STRONG.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 5th February, 1895, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Rev. Dr. Löwy, "On the Pre-Mosaic Culture of the Hebrews."

NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount, £1 1*s.*, at once to Messrs. Lloyds' Bank, Limited, 54, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council.

A few complete sets of the publications of the Society can be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As the new list of members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. IX of the *Transactions*.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bucher der Könige und Paralipomenōn im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.

AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.

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AMIAUD, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.

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——— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.

BAETHGEN, Beitrage zur Semitischen Religiongeshichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.

BLASS, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.

BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).

——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)

BUDINGER, M., De Colonarium quarundam Phoeniciarum primordiis cum Hebraeorum exodo conjunctis.

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CASSEL, PAULUS, Zophnet Paneach Aegyptische Deutungen.

CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862–1873.

DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.

——————————————— 2nd series, 1869.

——————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.

——————————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.

EARLE'S Philology of the English Tongue.

EBERS, G., Papyrus Ebers. Die Masse und das Kapitel über die Augenkrankheiten.

ERMAN, Papyrus Westcar.

Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.

GAYET, E., Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée du Louvre.

GOLÉNISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.

——————— Vingt-quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes de la Collection de

HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.

HESS, Der Gnostische Papyrus von London.

HOMMEL, Dr., Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. 1892.

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JEREMIAS, Tyrus bis zur Zeit Nubukadnezar's Geschichtliche Skizze mit besonderer Berucksichtigung der Keilschriftlichen Quellen.

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KREBS, F., De Chnemothis nomarchi inscriptione Aegyptiaca commentatio.

LEDERER, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berichsichtignung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.

LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2me partie. "Osiris."

LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.

LEHMANN, Samassumukin König von Babylonien 668 vehr, p. xiv, 173. 47 plates.

LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.

LYON, D. G. An Assyrian Manual.

MARUCHI, Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia.

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VISSER, I., Hebreeuwsche Archaeologie. Utrecht, 1891.

WALTHER, J., Les Découvertes de Ninive et de Babylone au point de vue biblique. Lausanne, 1890.

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——— Textbuch-Keilinschriftliches zum Alten Testament.

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Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. I, 1847; Vols. IV to XII, 1850 to 1858, inclusive; Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.

ZIMMERN, H., Die Assyriologie als Hülfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments.

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VOL. XVII. TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION.

Second Meeting, February 5th, 1895.

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TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1895.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on April 2nd, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Rev. Dr. Löwy: "The Primitive Culture of the Hebrews."

Antiquities at the British Museum. 8vo. 1895.

From the Author:—Rev. R. Waddy Moss. Genesis and Semitic Tradition; Outlines of the History of Judea. 8vo. 1894.

From the Author:—Professor Guidi. Abyssinian Proverbs, &c., Rome, 1894.

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TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1895.

Second Meeting, 5th February, 1895.

REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—H. Rassam. History of Assyrian and Babylonian Discoveries. 8vo. 1894.

From the Author:—H. Rassam. Assyrian and Babylonian Antiquities at the British Museum. 8vo. 1895.

From the Author:—Rev. R. Waddy Moss. Genesis and Semitic Tradition; Outlines of the History of Judea. 8vo. 1894.

From the Author:—Professor Guidi. Abyssinian Proverbs, &c., Rome, 1894.

The following Candidate was submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 8th January, 1895, and elected a Member of the Society.

Rev. Henry Jones, St. John's Parsonage, Ashborne, Derby.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

The University Library, Giessen, Germany.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 5th March, 1895:—

Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, 237, S. 21st Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

Rev. Percival Clementi-Smith, M.A., 35, St. Andrew's Hill, E.C.

A Paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Löwy on "The Pre-Mosaic Culture of the Hebrews."

Remarks were added by Theo. G. Pinches, Thos. Tyler, M.A., Rev. G. Margoliouth, and the Chairman. Thanks were returned for this communication.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. le Page Renouf.

CHAPTER CX.

The Beginning of the Chapters of the Garden of Hotepit, and of the Chapters of coming forth by day; and of entering and coming forth in the Netherworld, and of arriving at the Garden of Aarru, at the Rise (1) *in Hotepit and at the Grand Domain, blest with the breezes: that I may take possession there and be in Glory there: that there I may plough and mow: that there I may eat and drink and love: doing whatsoever things are done upon earth.*

Horus is seized by Sutu: who looketh as one turning (2) towards the Garden of Hotepit.

But for me Sutu releaseth Horus: and the double path which is nigh to Heaven is thrown open by Sutu. And Sutu taketh his portion of the breeze through the Power of his own day, (3) and he delivereth the bowels or Horus from the gods below.

Lo, I sail the great Bark on the Stream of the god Hotep. I took it at the mansion of Shu.

The mansion of his stars is again and again renewed. (4) I sail upon its streams that I may come to the domains thereof.

For I am in unison with his successive changes and his rules, and his papyrus, (5) and his attendant gods, and his chieftains. He reconcileth the two Warrior gods with those who have the charge of food and the beautiful creation which he raiseth up; and he reconcileth the two Warrior gods with each other. (6)

He severeth the mourners from those who quarrel with them: he putteth a stop to them whose hand is violent against those weaker than themselves: he keepeth within bounds the contentions of the Powers.

May I have possession there.

I know it, and I sail upon its streams that I may come to the domains thereof.

My mouth is potent and secured against the Glorified that they may not have the mastery of me.

May I have the investiture of thy Garden, O Hotep. What thou willest, do thou it.

Let me be glorified there, and eat and drink there, and plough there, and reap there, and grind (7) there, and have my fill of love there.

May my mouth be potent there, let me there utter my Words of Power and not be slighted.

* * * * * * *

I am in possession of that Word of Power of mine which is the most potent one within this body of mine here: and by means of it I make myself either known or unknown.

I make my progress and I plough.

I take my rest in the divine Domain.

I know the names of the domains, the districts and the streams within the Garden of Hotep.

I am there, I am master there, I am in glory there, I eat there; I plant and I reap there; I plough there, and I take my fill of love. I am united there with the god Hotep.

I cast my seed there, and I sail upon its stream that I may come to the domains thereof, O Hotep.

Lo, my mouth is armed with sharp points. There is given to me the abundance which belongeth to the Ka and to the Glorified.

I give the reckoning of Shu to him who understandeth it.

I sail upon its stream, and I range within the Garden of Hotep, for Rā is in the sky, and Hotep is putting together the oblations.

I hasten to the land, and I fasten my stole upon me, that I may come forth, and that that may be given to me which hath to be given; that I may have joy and take possession of the wealth which Hotep assigneth to me.

Rise in Hotep, I arrive in thee, my soul is with me, and my provision is before the Mistress of the Two Earths, who maketh fast my Words of Power, which recall to mind that which I have forgotten. Let me live free from strife; and be there granted to me enlargement of heart.

Let my arteries be made fast, and let me have the enjoyment of the Breeze. (8)

Rise in Hotep, blest with the Breeze, I arrive in thee, my head is uncovered: Rā sleepeth, but there waketh for me, and there shineth upon me Hesit [the Cow-goddess] (9) who lieth at the confines of Heaven by night.

He standeth in my way who heapeth against me his own dross.

But I am in my own domain.

Great Domain, I arrive in thee and I reckon up the abundance as I pass on to Uach. (10)

I am the Bull, raised on high in the Blue; the lord of the Bull's field; which Sothis describeth to me at her successive hours.

Uach, I arrive in thee, and I eat my cakes, and take possession of my joints of flesh and meat and fowl.

The winged things of Shu are given to me, and my Kau follow me. (11)

T'efait, (12) I arrive in thee, I put on the stole and fasten upon me the girdle of Rā, whilst he is in heaven, (13) and the gods who are in heaven are following Rā.

Rise in Hotep, Lord of the Two Earths, I arrive in thee: I salute the stream of *T'escrit.* (14) Lo, here am I, and all impurity is far from me. The great one flourisheth . . . I net the ducks, and I eat dainties.

Kankanit, (15) I arrive in thee; that I may see my father and attentively view my mother.

I take care to net the reptiles; and that which protecteth me is that I know the name of that god who is next to T'eserit (goddess with flowing locks and armed with horns), and who reapeth.

I myself plough and reap.

Hesit, I arrive in thee, and I encounter the Blue.

I follow the Breezes, and the company of the gods.

It is the Great goddess who hath given me my head, and he who fasteneth my head upon me is the Great god, the Blue-eyed, who doeth according to his own will.

Userit, (16) I arrive in thee, in face of the mansion where food is produced for me.

Smait, (17) I arrive in thee. My heart is awake: my head is provided with the White crown and I am conveyed over the heavens: and I make those things to prosper which are below me: a joy to the Bull of the gods above, the divine company.

I am the Bull, the Lord of the gods; and I make my way through the midst of the Emerald ones. (18)

Isle of Corn and Barley, divine district, I arrive in thee. I encounter and I bear off that which proceedeth from the head of Rā: the pair of horns which have the force of purification. (19)

I make myself fast to the Block of Moorage on the heavenly stream, and I utter my praise to the gods who are in the Garden of Hotepit.

NOTES.

The text of this chapter handed down by the Turin papyrus and those which agree with it contains nothing very difficult for a translator, but on being compared with the older copies it is found to consist of a collection of small fragments of the older text put together without any regard to their original order or context. And about three-quarters of the old chapter are suppressed in the new recension.

The editors of the fine papyrus of Sutimes in their notes upon this chapter remark, that in the Turin text the sentences are in quite a different order from that of their papyrus, "On peut y voir," they say, "l'effet de lectures et de transcriptions en rebours du sens, par des scribes ayant mal compris les éditions, en colonnes rétrógrades."

This is, curiously enough, the very fault of the papyrus of Sutimes itself, which is here wrong from beginning to end,* though probably derived from an excellent original. It begins with the "Isle of Corn and Barley," and jumbles together quite incoherent sentences.

The oldest copy of the chapter yet discovered is that of the Tomb of Chā-em-hait, at Thebes, and by a strange fatality it has been published in such a form that in order to read it correctly, we must begin with what is printed as line 11 and finish with line 1. We have it also in a very incomplete condition. We miss the first eighteen lines contained in the papyrus of Nebseni and the last words of every line.

The papyrus of Nebseni is the only complete text we have, and here as well as elsewhere it is extremely incorrect. Some parts are so corrupt that a translation must necessarily be dependent upon conjectural emendations which can have no genuine claim upon the reader's confidence. We must be content with waiting till better authorities are discovered.

* See M. Naville's remarks, *Einleitung*, p. 156.

The Gardens of Hotepit and Aarru are the Paradise, Elysian Fields and Islands of the Blessed of the Egyptian imagination.* They were supposed to be situated in the neighbourhood of the rising Sun, but certain features were apparently suggested by the islets of the Delta.

The usual meaning of the word *Ḥotepit*, ,† when written according to the orthography of the Pyramid Texts, is *oblations, offerings*. This, however, is only a derived meaning. The word really only expresses a *predicate* of the things offered, as *putting together, uniting, reconciling;* *Ḥotep* might signify *Rest*, or *Peace;* very appropriate names for such a garden. is the name of a god who dwells here.‡ There is also a goddess here called *Ḥotepit* , mentioned in the Pyramid inscription of Pepi I (line 423), as mother of the great Scarab: and the same name is given to Hathor in the temple of Dendera. The name of Ḥotep (with different determinatives§) belongs to one of the islands of this blissful place.

The Pyramid Texts furnish some interesting information not contained in the Book of the Dead. We are told that the approach to the Garden is over the Lake of Putrata (see chapter 40, note 1), that there is a great lake (? that of Konsit) in the middle of the Garden of Ḥotepit, upon which the great gods alight, and that the *Achmiu Sekiu*, the starry deities who never set, there feed the departed with the *wood of life* (*lignum vitæ*) "upon which they themselves live, in order that he too may live." Shu and Tefnut are mentioned as divinities of this place. But perhaps the most remarkable fact is that Horus had enemies even here, who,

* *Mission Arch.*, I, p. 125.

† Also written (*Unas*, 422 and elsewhere).

‡ The garden is also called . Another form is (*Pepi* I, 309).

§ *Nebseni*, *Sutimes*, in all the later papyri.

however, were annihilated by the divine weapons at the disposal of the departed worthy, who was led there in order that "he might sit among the stars in heaven."

And here it was that the beatified personage sat upon his throne of steel, which was decorated in front with faces of the lion-god *Maaḥes*, the feet of it being the hoofs of the great Bull *Sma-urà*, and extended his hand to the coming generation of men (the), whilst the gods approached him in submissive attitude, and made offerings to him. It was, perhaps, from these offerings that the Garden derived its name.

(These notes will be continued in the next number of the Proceedings.)

ON THE DIVINE NAME יהוה.

BY REV. G. MARGOLIOUTH.

It is well known that the Divine Names שדי and יהוה have, by several modern scholars, been held to mean, "the sender of storms, of lightning, and the like." This theory rests on the derivation of שדי* from the Aramaic שדא, פ״ו, "to cast," or "to throw down," and on the supposition that the name יהוה does not represent the *Ḳal* with its simple intransitive meaning of "being," or "becoming," but the *Hifʿil*, or causative of the verb הוה, which in Arabic (هوى) means "to fall down," and which, in the form הוא, also bears the same meaning in Job xxxvii, 6, where the phrase occurs: כי לשלג יאמר הוא ארץ, "for he saith to the snow, fall down upon the earth."

This conjecture has, however, hitherto been confined to the Sacred Name יהוה itself, whilst its explanation by the phrase אהיה אשר אהיה, as given in Ex. iii, 14, has not been supposed to bear any other meaning than that which the verb היה usually has in Hebrew. The only question that has been admitted on the point was whether אהיה† expresses the absolute being of God (LXX, ὁ ὢν), or the "simpler meaning of actuality," with which, as Professor W. R. Smith suggested, the ἔσομαι of Aquila and Theodotion appears to be connected, or whether finally it is more akin to the Greek γίγνομαι, to "become something," the latter being the meaning favoured in the new edition of Gesenius' Dictionary, which is now being published by Drs. Brown, Driver, and Briggs, where אהיה אשר אהיה is translated by, "I shall be the one who will be it."

* Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, under שדי) mentions Seb, Schmid and Dryling as apparently the first to suggest this derivation of שדי, but it was the late Professor R. W. Smith who brought the theory into prominent notice for both names. See Dr. Driver's very important article on the subject in *Studia Biblica*, I.

† See W. R. Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 385–7.

It appears, however, that the possibility of extending the above-mentioned conjecture on the meaning of יהוה also to the explanatory phrase אהיה אשר אהיה is by no means excluded, and the main purpose of this paper is to offer a few tentative remarks in the direction just indicated.

One reason why the explanatory phrase before us has not hitherto been allowed to embody the meaning which Professor W. R. Smith and others claimed for יהוה, is the idea that the designation of the Deity by the term "sender of storms," was held to be derogatory to the spirituality of the Mosaic idea of the Supreme Being. It was all very well to suppose that such an idea existed in very ancient pre-Mosaic days, but even advanced critics have felt a certain very laudable shrinking from a theory which would carry a merely physical attribute like this into the very centre of the religious system propagated by Moses. This objection need, however, not stand in our way, if we only suppose—as we are fully justified in doing—that the physical notion of "sending down things from the sky" would gradually pass over into the meaning of "sending to man all things that he needs," and, like the Arabic أَنْزَلَ, it might even have assumed the idea of "sending down a revelation."* יהוה, therefore, if it be taken as the causative of הוה, هوى, "to fall," might in the Mosaic conception have had the meaning of the "sender of the law," and from this point of view there can so far be no objection to a similar interpretation of the explanatory phrase in Ex. iii, 14, and אהיה אשר אהיה may, therefore, not inaptly be taken to mean: "I will send down what I will send down," *i.e.*, "I will give you a law from heaven in accordance with the plan of my inscrutable providence."

But the other and perhaps more serious objection to this theory lies in the fact that the verb היה never means anything but "to be" or "to become" in the Hebrew that has come down to us. It is different, so it may fairly be argued, with regard to the name יהוה, for there we have a root הוה, which in the Arabic fourth form actually means "to send down," and which, as we have seen, is also found once in Job in the unmistakable sense of "falling down;" whereas in the phrase אהיה אשר אהיה we have the usual verb היה, which nowhere means anything but "to be." This argument

* Instances of similar evolutions of ideas and terms are too common to need any specific justification.

is no doubt a very strong one, and I own to feeling its weight myself. My remarks are, however, as I have already said, merely tentative; and if my suggestion should be found worth consideration on other grounds, we shall also be disposed to reflect that we are not now investigating what the phrase אהיה אשר אהיה meant later on—say from the time of David onwards—but what it meant in the original source from which the Elohist, to whom critics assign the main portion of Ex. iii, drew his account. That the roots היה and הוה interchange in Hebrew is shown., *e.g.*, by the phrase הוה גביר לאחיך in Gen. xxvii, 29, and by הוי סתר למו in Is. xvi, 4, where הוה is found in the usual sense of היה, and we therefore have a right to suppose that in a very early stage of the language, *i.e.*, before Hebrew and Arabic were yet quite distinct from each other, היה might have also been used in the sense which הוא has in Job xxxvii, 6, namely, that of "falling down." Nor ought we to overlook the fact that in Job vi, 2, הַיָּתִי, in the sense of "abyss," or "engulfing ruin," is the כתיב instead of הַוָּתִי, which is the קרי. This clearly shows that the root היה was not unknown in the sense of "falling down" in that dialect of Hebrew which exhibits most affinity with Arabic, and as the Sinai revelation actually takes us into the territory of the Midianites, who were northern Arabs, we need not be surprised to find in a very ancient phrase an unusual meaning of היה, if that meaning can be justified by the very similar Arabic root هوى.

Another aspect of the question before us is the very important grammatical one. There is hardly any scholar who has not found the phrase אהיה אשר אהיה, when taken in the meaning usually assigned to it, difficult to construe. The late Professor W. R. Smith's elaborate note on the subject, in his work on the *Prophets of Israel* (pp. 385–7), ends with the confession that a "little awkwardness of expression" still remains. The difficulty, however, lies not so much in the repetition of the word אהיה, as in the particle אשר standing between the double אהיה. This relative particle * may follow either a substantive or a verb. If it follows a

* The idea that אשר is here a *conjunctive* particle, and that the phrase is to be rendered, "I shall be *inasmuch* as I shall be," has not found favour among scholars generally, although advocated by Ibn Ezra, J. D. Michaëlis, and Wellhausen. See the new edition of Gesenius' Dictionary, under הוה.

substantive, it is equally usual and equally easy whether אשר has to be construed as a nominative or as an accusative. The case is, however, rather different when it follows a verb, for it is then far more usual, and it appears also to be far more natural to construe it as an accusative. A few instances will indeed be found in which it stands in the nominative case, and the phrase יהי לך אשר לך in Gen. xxxiii, 9, shows that it would be justifiable to take the אשר in אהיה אשר אהיה in a similar sense. De Lagarde* also quotes the Arabic phrase حتّى دهاها الّذى دهاها (donec accidit ei quod accidit), from which it can be seen that the relative pronoun الّذى, which answers to the Hebrew אשר, can also be used as a nominative after a verb. But the accusative signification is far more frequent, and no one will, I believe, doubt that, grammatically speaking, the phrase אהיה אשר אהיה reads much more smoothly and much more naturally, if אהיה be taken as a causative, and אשר consequently as standing in the accusative case; and as the meaning of "causing to be" is excluded on the simple ground that no Semitic language† uses the Hif'īl of היה in that sense, it follows that we must adopt the only other possible translation, and render: "I will send down what I will send down." This phrase would then be entirely analogous to את אשר תאפו אפו in Ex. xvi, 23, or וחנתי את אשר אחן in Ex. xxxiii, 19.

You will of course not expect me to say much on the views which Egyptologists or Assyriologists have held on the subject before us. There was a time when the Egyptian "nuk pu nuk" (occurring in several places of the "Book of the Dead") was held to be analogous to אהיה אשר אהיה, and practically to mean the same. If that were so, my theory of a causative sense for אהיה would be considerably weakened; but Mr. le Page Renouf has, in his Hibbert Lectures‡ (pp. 244–5), entirely refuted the analogy, and shown that the phrase "nuk pu nuk" only means, "I, even I," without containing any verb signification whatever. From an Assyriological point of view, the list of names compounded with Yâ and Yâwa in Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, as communicated by

* *Psalterium juxta Hebreos Hieronymi*, Lipsiæ, p. 138.

† The use of ܐܗܝܐ in Syriac is a very late formation. Payne Smith only quotes some instances from Bar-Hebreus and Ebed-Yeshū.

‡ Published by Williams and Norgate, 1880; quoted also in Dr. Driver's article in *Studia Biblica*, I.

Mr. Pinches in the *Proceedings* of this Society for November, 1892, appeared rather formidable; but Professor Sayce, with—one may suppose—Mr. Pinches' very carefully drawn up statement before him, declares, in his work on the *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* (p. 89), that, "apart from the names of Jews and that of Yahu-bidhi [who may have been of Jewish origin], the cuneiform inscriptions, in spite of the wealth of proper names which they contain, show us no names that are compounded with the name of the God of Israel." Until, therefore, Mr. Pinches, or another experienced Assyriologist, draws up a theory which would materially strengthen the hypothesis of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch,* which, as Dr. Driver has shown, is now practically disproved, the Biblical student is obliged to confine himself to the evidence offered by the more general Semitic branches of research.

I began my paper with a statement of modern conjectures, not only with regard to the Divine Name יהוה, but also with regard to שׁדי. These two Sacred Names must indeed, from the point of view taken up here, be treated together. The two most important rival roots to which שׁדי has been assigned by different scholars are שׁדד and שׁדא.† I need not repeat what has been said on the subject before, and I will, therefore, only adduce a grammatical reason in favour of שׁדא, as I am not aware that this reason has been thought of before. If שׁדי were derived from שׁדד, the י would have to be taken as a formative letter, and the word would be a relative adjective of the same type as, *e.g.*, מֶלֶכִי "belonging to a king" or "royal," and חִיצוֹנִי "belonging to the outside," or "external." שַׁדִּי would therefore mean, "belonging to one who destroys," or "to one who is powerful." But it is clear that the Divine Being would hardly be designated in this manner. He would be called, "the Powerful," or "Almighty," not "belonging to the Powerful" or "Almighty." If, on the other hand, שׁדי be derived from שׁדא, פִּי, the word would denote a "Being who is in the habit of sending down things from heaven," and it would

* See Professor Driver's article on the subject in *Studia Biblica*, I.

† I am aware that analogies from the Egyptian and Assyrian have been suggested for this name also, but it will hardly be affirmed that a definite theory has been formulated as yet. The Egyptian expression "nutar nutra" (*see* Le Page Renouf, Hibbert Lectures, p. 99) would of course be a striking parallel if שׁדי really meant "the Almighty."

then be analogous in form to such words as קַיָּם, the constant one; ܓܰܒܳܪܳܐ, the hero; ܡܰܠܳܚܳܐ, a sailor.

I will close my remarks with one more suggestion, namely, that שׁדי and יהוה are in reality the same Divine Name expressed in two different Semitic dialects, שׁדי being the Aramaic name of the God of the Patriarchs, and יהוה the Hebrew-Arabic translation or equivalent of the Name. Both Names really mean—according to the opinion advocated in this paper—the same thing, namely, "one who sends down things from heaven," and it is only natural that Abraham the Aramæan should have known the Godhead by the Aramaic designation שׁדי, and that the Hebrew-Arabic designation of the true God should have been adopted by his descendants later on. With this view before us the well-known third verse of Ex. vi becomes quite clear and natural. When Moses was informed that to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob the God of Israel was known by the name of אל שׁדי, but not by that of יהוה, this appears to mean that to the three patriarchs, who had remained more or less Aramæans in speech, the Divine Being was known by the Aramaic name שׁדי, whilst their descendants, who became more and more identified with Canaan, and also came into very close contact with the northern Arabs, naturally adopted the name יהוה to express the Name of the Deity, who had been known to the patriarchs by an Aramaic designation. A modification of a similar tendency appears to lie before us in the two forms of the name borne by Abraham's wife. שָׂרַי may be taken to have been her Aramaic name,* which in Canaan was naturally modified into שָׂרָה. One is surprised to find that Prof. Sayce† is so much puzzled over the form of the word שָׂרַי, and that he could only find an explanation of it in the Canaanish forms *Labai*, lion, *and Adai*, as found on the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, where the words just quoted are, however, not of the feminine gender. The termination *ai* for the feminine is well known in the Aramaic of an archaic form, as is shown by the words ܓܰܘܓܰܝ, a spider, ܠܳܢܳܝ, a condition, ܣܰܠܘܳܝ, a quail, and a few other examples; and there is besides the analogous Arabic feminine termination in ى or ا of

* See Wright's *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 138.

† *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, p. 179.

which there are many examples—as دَعوَى, a claim; ذِكرَى, memory; or بُشرَى, good news.

You will have noticed that I have been careful to qualify my remarks by the term "tentative." No one can boast to have arrived at anything like a *certain* explanation of either of the Sacred Names which we have been considering, and a difficulty has been felt all along in the construction of the important phrase אהיה אשר אהיה. My only object has been to suggest one or two fresh lines of argument and investigation, and it is just possible that what I have said may deserve to be subjected to a further examination in future treatises on the same subject.

P.S.—I have not discussed the vocalisation of the words treated on in this paper, but it is clear that if my suggestion should be adopted, the original pronounciation of the verbal form in the phrase אהיה אשר אהיה must have been different from that usually assigned to it.

THE LAMENT OF "THE DAUGHTER OF SIN."

By THEO. G. PINCHES.

The lower right-hand portion of what was originally a large closely-written tablet of red baked clay, the text measures at present $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches high by $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches long. The obverse has the latter portion of fifteen lines of column I, and no less than twenty-four lines, more or less complete, of Column II. The reverse has twenty-five similar lines of Column III, and the latter halves of eighteen lines of Column IV. Like most bilingual texts, the translation is interlinear, the Assyrian lines being inset about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch. In some places, however (especially on the reverse), the scribe seems to have wished to economize space, and he has therefore written the Assyrian line or lines in smaller characters in such blank spaces as were available. The style of the writing is Babylonian, and the tablet was probably copied from a Babylonian original by Assyrian scribes at Nineveh, where the present fragment was found, either by Layard or by Rassam.

Though only a fragment of a large tablet, the text seemed to me to be worth publication, not only on account of the subject, but also because of the new words or phrases it contains, both in the Semitic and non-Semitic Babylonian versions. As will be seen, it is a kind of legend referring to a high-placed lady, seemingly even a goddess, who had been driven from her house and city by her "enemy." *

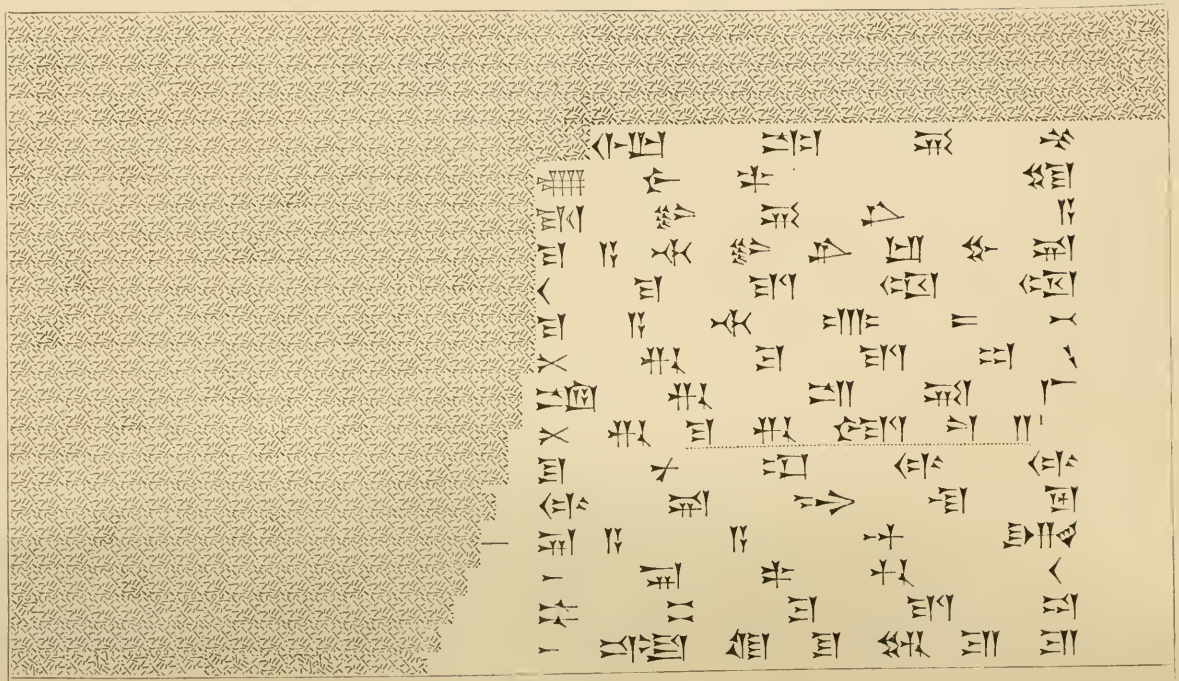
* Dr. Bezold's description of the text in Vol. I of the British Museum Catalogue, is as follows :—

"Part of a clay tablet, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. End of obverse with twenty-four, and beginning of reverse with twenty-four for the most part pretty clear Babylonian lines. A mythological tale (or part of an incantation ?) in the interlinear style of writing, the explanations of the ideographs being given sometimes in very small characters between two lines of a larger writing. Mentions the god [illegible]." *

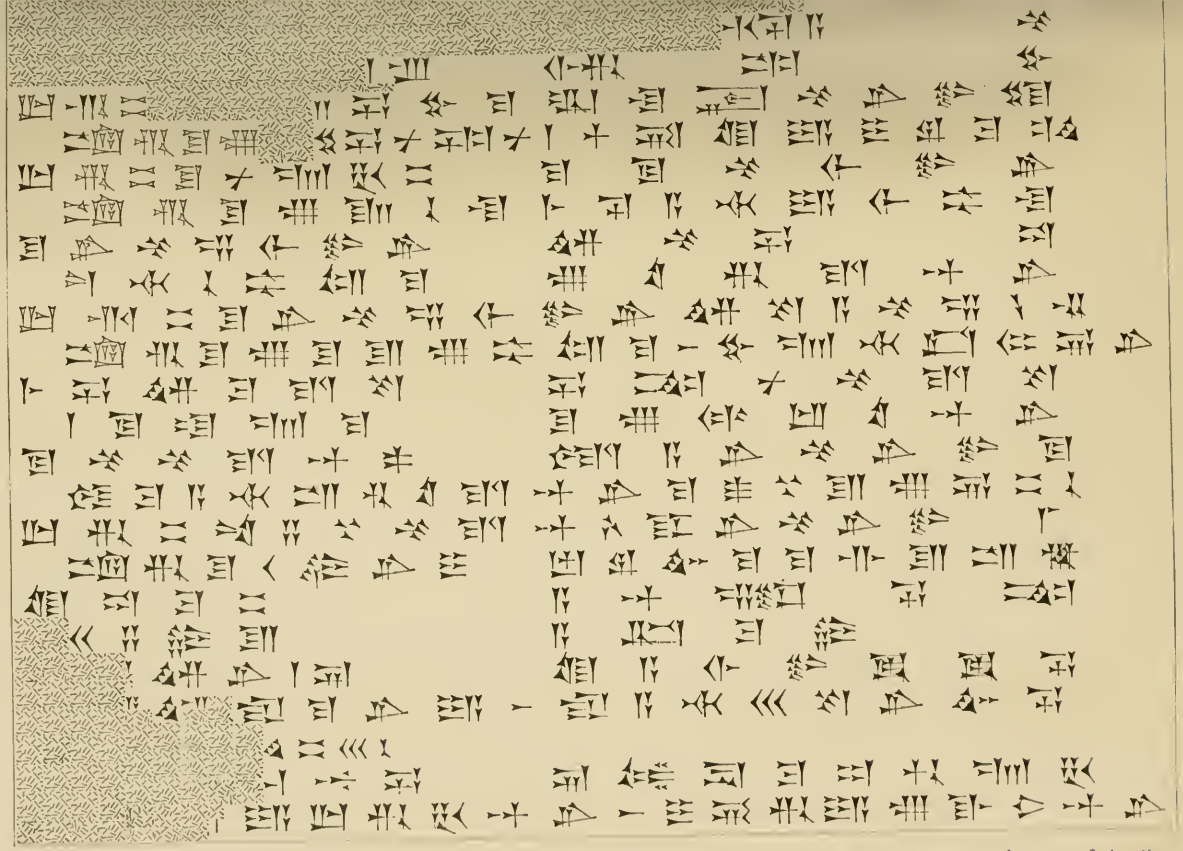
* "According to some Akkadologists, this text would be one of the so-called *dialectic*."

K. 41.

COLUMN I.



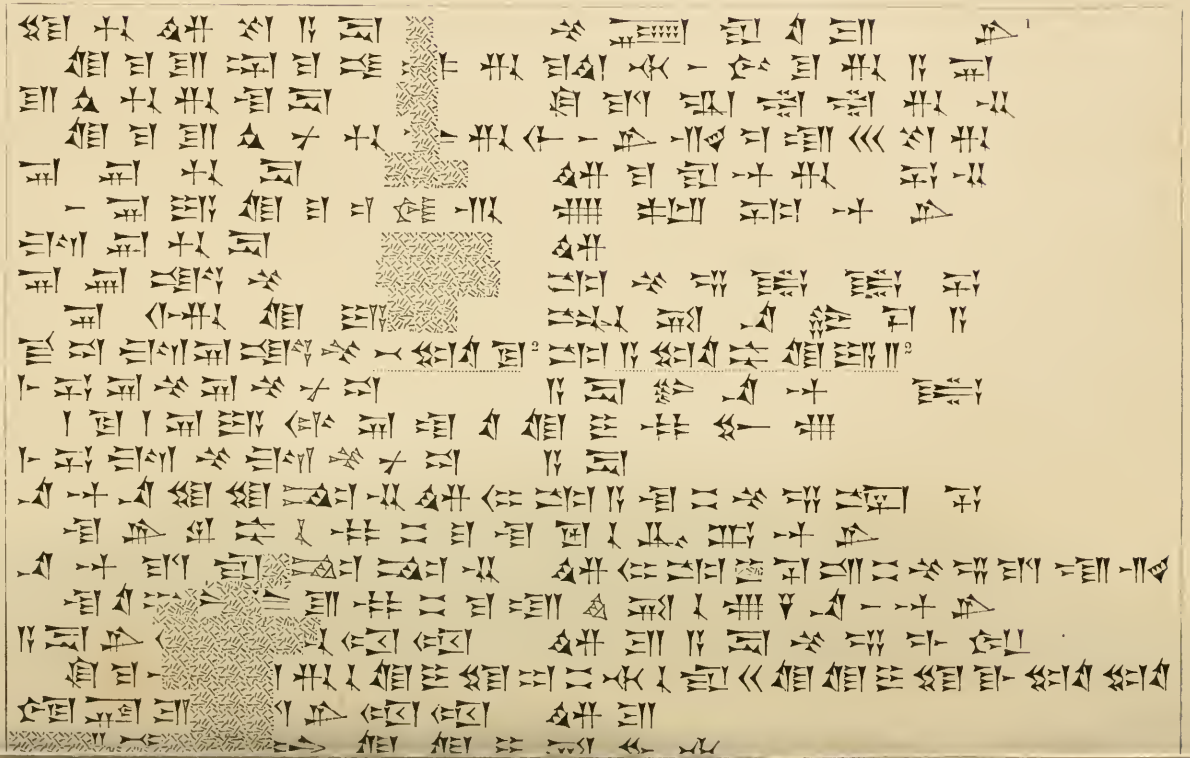
COLUMN II.

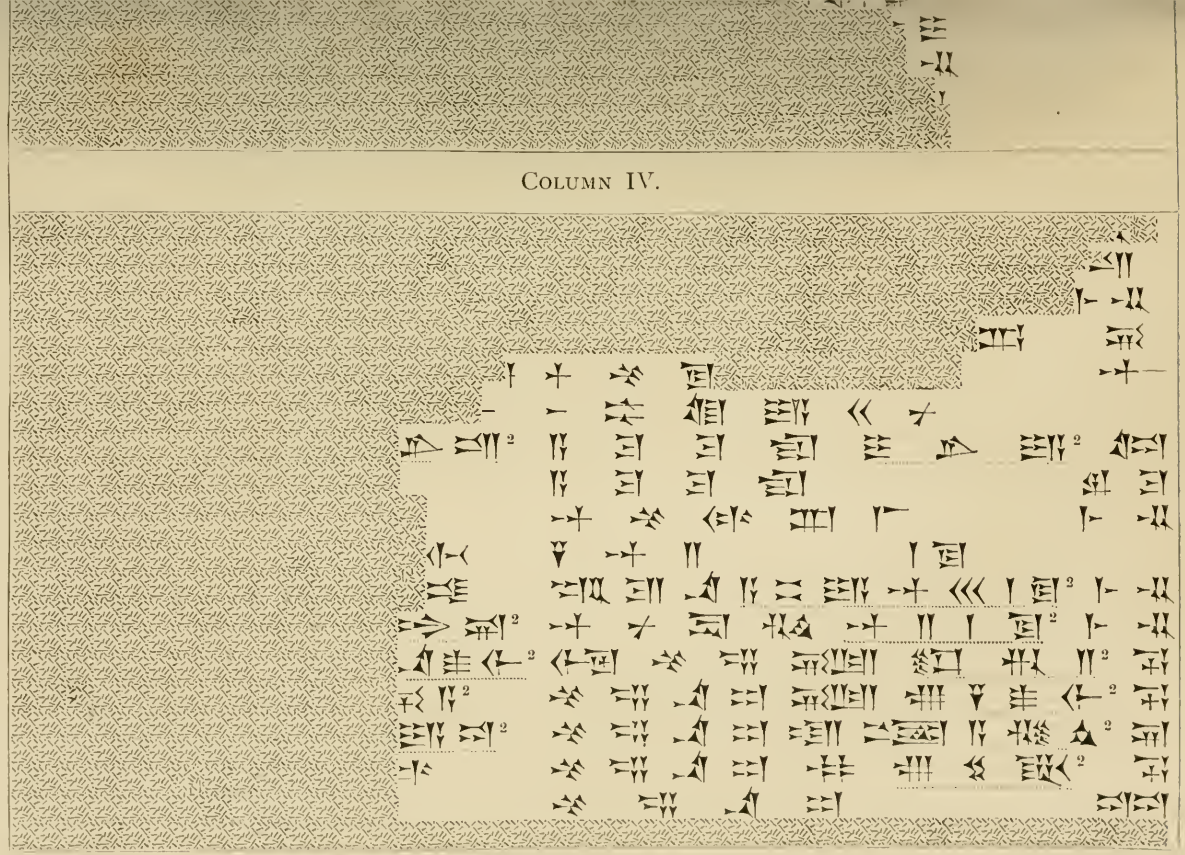


[1] The characters underlined are written smaller in the original, and are not in the same language as the rest of the line. They correspond with the words printed in small type in the transcription.

K. 41.

COLUMN III.





[1] Or [illegible].

[2] The characters underlined are written smaller in the original, and are not in the same language as the rest of the line. They correspond with the words in small type in the transcription.

COLUMN I.

1. . . . . ǵul dug - ga - mu
2. . . . . u(?)-šal- pi - tu
. . . . . *he hath caused evil*

3. . . . . [ma-da] in - ga - du - a
4. . . . . ma-a-ti in - ni-ip-pu-uš
. . . . . [*in*] *the land was made*

5. . . . . ma - da gul - gul
6. . . . . ma - a - ti u - tab - bat
. . . . . [*in*] *the land was destroyed*

7. . . . . kur - ri ba-da - ab - gam
8. . . . . nak - ri iš - ta - lal
. . . . . *the enemy carried off*

9. [Dumu šeg - ga] kur - ri
ma-ri dam-ḳa mina
[*The son the fair one,*] *the enemy* (*carried off*)

10. . . . . šu - nu - um - du - du
11. . . . . ûl uš - tak - la - lu
. . . . . *was not completed*

12. . . . . ê-a am - gi
13. . . . . ina bêti pi - ḫu - u
. . . . . *is shut up in the house*

14. . . . . ub - bi ba - da - gub
15. . . . . ina tup - ki šu - uz - zu - zu
. . . . . *was made to settle in the region*

COLUMN II.

1. . . . . ra - mu
2. . . . . .
3. . . . . u - a - mu
4. . . . . elippi ar - ka - bu
. . . . . [*in*] *the ship I rode*

5. [ur - ri - bi]e - sir ma - al - la sala - mu ni - in - tu
6. [Nak-ru šu-u ina šêpa-šu ?] še-e-nu šak-nu ana maš-tak-ki-ia i-ru-ba-a^{m}
It was the enemy, upon [his feet] the shoe was set, to my sanctuary he descended

7. ur - [ri - bi šu] nu - laḫ - ga - bi ma - ku mu - ši - in - ir
8. [nak - ri] šu - u ḳâta - šu la me - si - a - ti ya - ši ub - la
It was the enemy! his hands not washed upon me he brought

9. šu-[ni] mu - un - ši - in - ir im - mu - e - gin
10. ḳa - ti - šu ub - lam - ma u-par - ri - da - an - ni
his hands he brought and he drove me forth

11. [ur] - ri - bi šu - ni mu - un - ši - in - ir im - te - a mu-un-gam-en
12. nak - ri šu-u ḳat - su u-ub-lam-ma ina pu-luḫ-ti uš-mi-ṭan-ni
It was the enemy! His hand he brought and in fear he made me bow down

13. Me - e im - ma - da - te e-ne nu - mu - da - te
14. Ana-ku ad - luḫ - ma šu - u ûl ip - laḫ - an - ni
I was troubled and as for him he feared me not

15. Te - mu mu - da - an - sig dam-a-ni mu-ni-in-dur
16. Ṣu-ba - a - ti iš-ḫu - uṭ - ṭa - an - ni-ma aš-šat-su u-lab-bi-šu
My clothes he tore off from me and his wife he clothed

17. Ur - ri - bi na-za-gin mu - da - an - tar dumu - ni mu-ni-in - lal
18. Nak - ri šu - u uk - ni - i ip-ru-'-ma ma-rat-su iš-kun
It was the enemy! The lapis-lazuli he snatched away and (on) his daughter he placed.

19. Ki - gub-ba-bi am-gug - e - de
20. Man - za - as - su a-kab-ba-as
His domain I will make desolate

21. . . . . im - ni - ma ki - a ši-in - ḳi - ḳi - e
ḫi - bi eš - šu
22. . . . . im ra - ma - ni - ia aš - ra - a-ti eš - te - ni-'-e
. . . . . *myself the places I will seek*

23. . . . . gir - e amar dim ba-ab-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa
24. . . . . ia ur - ri - ḫa - an - ni ina i-ga-ri-ia u - gal-lid-an-ni
[*To*] *my . . . . . he hurried me, in my enclosed place he disturbed me*

COLUMN III.

1. Tu - mušen im - te - a - dim mu - ur - ra ud - ba - ni
2. Ki - ma su - um-ma-tu^{m} u(?)-ri-it-ti ina gu-šu-ri a-bit
Like a lonely (?) dove upon a beam I rest

3. Su - din mušen dal-la-dim di-da - al kabar-kabar-ri-en
4. Ki-ma su-din - nu D.S. [ir?]-ri-ši ina ni-gi-iṣ-ṣi eš - te - ri
Like a sudin - *bird wounded (?) in a hollow I perch*

5. Ê - ma mušen - dim im-ma-ra-an - ri - e - en
6. Ina bêti-ia ki - ma iṣ-[ṣu]-ri u - šap-šak - an - ni
In my house like a bird he putteth me in anguish

7. Eri - ma mušen - dim im
In my city like a bird he (putteth me in anguish)

8. Ê - ma egir - mu gu - mu - un - de - de - e
9. Bêti ar-ki - i[a] il - ta - na - as - si - a
My house behind me constantly repeateth

10. Gašan - gin. Eri - ma egir [-mu] gu
Be - li - ku a - li ar - ki - ia mina
"*I am the lady.*" *My city behind me (constantly repeateth) (the same).*

11. Me - e ê - mu Ê - mu [nu] - gin a - dim in - na - an - de
12. Ana-ku ana bêti-ia[Ul] bêti at - ta^{m} ki-i aḳ - bu - u
I to my house "Thou art not my house," thus I have said

13. Me - e eri - mu Eri - mu nu - gin a - dim
I to my city "Thou art not my city," thus (I have said)

14. Na - an - na - tu - tu - de - en im - mi - gu - a la - bi mu - un-ku-e
15. La ir-ru-ub-[šu] aḳ-bi-ma la - la - šu ik - kal - an - ni
"*I will not enter it,*" *I said,* "*for its splendour will eat me up,*"

16. Na - an - da - ra . . de-de-en im-mi-gu i-si-iš-bi mu - un - da - ṣi - gi
17. La ut-tak . . . . as-su aḳ-bi-ma ši-ḫa(?)-ta-šu-u-ša-na-aš-an-ni
"I will not . . . . . it" I said, "for its lamentation will make me sad"

18. A-dim ni-. . . . . - gul - gul ni - zu a-dim mu - un - pi - el
19. Ki - ma . . . . -ri-šu ki-i tu-ab-bi-ti-su ra-man-ki, ki-i tu-gal-li-li
Like its . . . . thus thou hast destroyed it, thyself thus thou hast ruined

20. Nin sala(?)-zu . . . . -ni-gul-gul ni-zu
21. [Be-el]-tu^{m} [mas]-tak-ki ki-i ta-bu-ti
Lady, thy sanctuary, thus thou hast destroyed, thyself (thus thou hast ruined).

22. . . . . na - ṣi - im
23. . . . . - ad - di - ni
. . . . . [*thou*] *hast given*

24. . . . . - i
25. . . . . - en
. . . . . .

COLUMN IV.

1. . . . . .
2. il
3. . . . . - me - en
. . . . . *am I*

4. . . . . esig - ga
. . . . . *strong*

5. . . . . .
6. . . . . bara mu - ru . . . - an .
7. . . . . ina ar - ki - ia man - nu
. . . . . *behind me, who . . . . ?*

8. . . . . a - ba ba - ra - ê
ni-iš i-ni-ia
. . . . *the darling of mine eye, who hath driven forth?*

9. . . . . a - ba ba - ra - šub - ba
. . . . . *who hath overthrown?*

10. . . . . ⟶✝ Mu - ul - lil - la - me - en
11. . . . . - ti ša ⟶✝ 𒁹𒁹 ana - ku
. . *the* . . *of Bel am I*

12. . . . . tu^{m} En - zu - na - me - en
a-bi-ia Sin ana-ku
. . *the* . . *of my father Sin am I*

13. . . . . tak - nit ⟶✝ Nu - dim - mut - me - en
⟶✝ 𒁹𒁹 ana-ku
. . *the* . . *of the god Êa am I*

14. . . . . na-aš-ši u - mu - un - il - šarri 𒁹𒁹 e
[*My lord hath*] *taken away, my king hath taken away*

15. . . . . ga(?)-a mu - un - na - ab - il - e
u - ša - aš - ši
. . . . . *he hath caused to be taken away*

16. . . . . mu - un - na - ab - ṣi - am - ma
ya-du a-nam-dim
. . . . . *I will give*

17. . . . . mu - un - na - ab - ša - e
u-še-piš
. . . . . *I will have it made*

18. . . . . mu - un - na - ab - gub - gub
. . . . . *I will have it made firm.*

In order to make the text more intelligible, I give also a free rendering without the interlinear Sumerian and Assyrian versions. A more correct idea of the state of the text, and the amount that is preserved, will probably be gained from this, than from the threefold version printed above.

FREE RENDERING.

Column I.

1—2. . . . . he hath spoken (caused) evil.
3—4. . . . . was made in the land.
5—6. . . . . was destroyed in the land.
7—8. . . . . the enemy carried off;
9. The enemy carried off my fair son.
10–11. . . . . was not completed.
12–13. . . . . is shut up in the house.
14–15. . . . . was made to settle in the district.

Column II.

3—4. . . . . I rode in the ship
5—6. It was the enemy, the shoe was placed upon his foot, and he descended to my sanctuary—
7—8. It was the enemy!—He laid his unclean hands upon me,
9–10. He laid his hands upon me, and he drove me forth.
11–12. It was the enemy!—He laid his hands upon me, and made me bow down in fear.
13–14. I was in trouble, and as for him, he feared me not—
15–16. He tore my clothes off from me and clothed therewith his wife.
17–18. It was the enemy!—He plucked off from me my lapis-stone and gave it to his daughter.
19–20. I will make desolate his domain!
21–22. . . . . myself—I will seek the (holy?) places!
23–24. He hurried me [to] my . . . . , he disturbed me in my enclosed place.

Column III.

1—2. Like a lonely dove I rest upon a beam.
3—4. Like a wounded *sudinnu*-bird I perch in a hollow place
5—6. He frighteneth me like a bird in my house—
7. He frighteneth me like a bird in my city.
8—9. My house behind me constantly repeateth (that)
10. "I am the lady"—My city behind me constantly repeateth (the same).

11–12. I have said thus to my house: "Thou art not my house"—
13. I have said thus to my city: "Thou art not my city."
14–15. "I will not enter it," I said, "for its fulness will eat me up."
16–17. "I will not approach (?) it," I said, "for its lamentation will make me sad."
18–19. Like . . . . . , thus hast thou destroyed it—thyself, thus hast thou ruined!
20–21. Lady—thy sanctuary—thus hast thou destroyed—thyself, thus hast thou ruined.
22–23. . . . . [thou] hast given
24–25. . . . . .

Column IV.

3. . . . . am I,
4. . . . . strong
5. . . . . .
6—7. . . . . behind me who . . . . . ?
8. . . . the darling of mine eye, who hath driven him forth?
9. . . . . who hath overthrown?
10–11. . . . the . . . of Bel am I.
12. . . . the . . . of my father Sin am I.
13. . . . the . . . of the god Êa am I.
14. [My lord hath] taken away, my king hath taken away.
15. . . . . he hath caused to be taken away.
16. . . . . I will give.
17. . . . . I will have it made.
18. . . . . I will have it made firm.

Judging from what remains of the text, it would seem that the heroine, who speaks in the first person, tells of some one who caused evil, who had plundered the country, and who had carried off her fair son (*mari damḳa*, "my son, the fair," or "the fair son," in which case, however, the final *i* of *mâri* would be difficult to explain). She then speaks of something that had not been completed, of some person or persons "shut up in the house" (Sum.: *êa amgi*, Assyr.: *ina bêti piḫû*), and being "made to stay in the region" (Sum.: *ub-bi badagub*, Assyr.: *ina tupki šuzzuzu*).

The fracture of the tablet has broken away the upper part of Column II, and where it is complete, the heroine is speaking of having "ridden in a ship." Her enemy (the Assyrian has *nakri šû*,

"it was my enemy," but the Sumerian text gives *urri-bi*, "it was the enemy"——"my enemy," in that language, would probably be *urru-mu*), however, descended to her sanctuary or dwelling (*maštakkia*), and placing his unclean hands upon her, drove her forth, humbled her, and set her in anguish. He even went farther than this, for he tore her clothes off from her and clothed his wife therewith, and, snatching away her jewel of lapis stone (*ukni*), placed it upon his daughter's neck. In her anger the heroine threatens that she will make desolate his domain, and will betake herself to other places. In Column III, which immediately follows Column II without any gap, she mourns her luckless case, liking herself to a dove sitting in solitude upon a beam, and to a *sudinnu*-bird moping in a hollow place, for like a caged bird her enemy had put her in anguish in her house and in her city. She hears her house and her city saying behind her that she is the lady (in Sumerian *gašan-gin*, in Assyrian *bêliku*, "I am the lady"—an example of oblique narration). She tells her house and her city that they are no longer hers, and that she will not enter them, for their splendour and their lamentation (at her absence) would consume her and make her sad. These words are followed by lines in the form of reproaches, probably uttered by her enemy, who tells her that it is she who has destroyed her sanctuary, and ruined herself. A gap follows, embracing the remainder of Column III and the beginning of Column IV, where she seems to ask, "Who hath driven forth my darling (*niš inîa*, lit., "the darling of my eye") and overthrown [my dominion?"]. She then tells who she is—the [honoured one] of Bel—the [beloved] of her father Sin,—the [handmaid?] of the god Nudimmut or Éa. It is [her lord] and her king, she says, who has taken away (her precious things, in all probability); but a restoration of the things is promised either by the goddess herself, or by another speaking, in the text, in the first person.

Such is the nature of the inscription, which is rare enough in its way, and when such texts come to light, they are, on account of their rareness, all the more precious. The principal defect about the above is its incompletess,—the remainder of the tablet (more than two-thirds) probably still lies hidden in the ruin-mounds o Nineveh.

A very interesting question is, Who was the narrator and heroine of the story? In Column IV, line 12, she mentions her father Sin,

the moon-god, and it is not improbable, therefore, that the speaker, in the narrative, is Istar, who, in the account of the descent of that goddess into Hades, is called "daughter of Sin." It is noteworthy that the heroine of the story, in Column I, l, 9, speaks of her son (*mâri damḳa*, "my fair son"—unless, indeed, we are to translate "*the* fair son," in which case Tammuz would probably be intended), and this is supported by the fact that the enemy is said, in the same line, to have carried him off, typifying his imprisonment in Hades by Ereš-ki-gal, the queen of that region. In Column II, lines 3-4, the heroine says that she "rode in a ship" ([*ma-ra* ?] *uamu* = [*ina*] *êlippi arkabu*), indicating the crossing of the waters by Istar when she went to seek Tammuz in the Underworld; and the loss of her clothing and lapis-stone, mentioned in Column II, lines 15-18, corresponds with the statement in the story of her Descent into Hades, that she had to part with her clothing and jewels at the seven gates of that region.

In the light of the above parallels, we are able to trace the origin of the legend of Istar's visit to the Underworld. We are able to say that that legend is a comparatively late production, and is probably based upon the present text, and produced by expanding the narrative and changing its figurative language into literal statements. In the present text, Istar is imprisoned in her own house and city (Column II, lines 23-24, Column III, lines 5-13), and apparently not in Hades. This is an important difference; but the idea of the Netherworld is apparently contained in lines 3-4, where the heroine says that she perches, like a wounded *sudin*-bird, in a *hollow place* (*ina nigiṣṣi*), and it is not unlikely that the goddess's comparing herself to birds (Column II, lines 1-7) may have had something to do with the statement, in the "Descent of Istar," that the inhabitants of Hades are "clothed also, like birds, in a dress of feathers;" though this idea, as an early belief, seems to be confirmed by certain cylinder-seals which apparently represent the bringing of a soul before the king of the lower regions.

The lamentation of Istar, in our text, gives place, in the "Descent of Istar," to a lamentation for Tammuz, her husband, whom she had left in Hades, but who, as the waxing summer sun, was to come forth, in due time, from the land of darkness, to lighten the world once more with his rays.

But it will probably be asked, "Who was 'the enemy' whom the heroine of the new text feared?" It is probably not going too

far to say that "the enemy" was death, the king of terrors, who had destroyed the land (Column I, lines 5–6), and carried off [the inhabitants] (lines 7–8), including "the fair son" (line 9), Dumu-zi, or Tummuz, "the son of life," and who does not spare even the goddess of love herself, taking away from her the things that she loved—her garments, and the jewel of lapis stone by which she set so great store. "The enemy" is the "porter of the waters" of the legend of the descent of Istar, both of them types of death himself.

The reproaches which seem to be levelled at the goddess in Column III, lines 18–21, where she is said to have destroyed her home and sanctuary, and ruined herself, are difficult to understand, unless we suppose that the ancient world regarded the misfortunes of the goddess as the well-merited punishment for her many sins, as detailed in the tablet of the Gilgameš-series in which she makes love to that hero. Even in those remote ages, the goddess of love had much to answer for.

THE UNKNOWN ARAMAIC ORIGINAL OF THEODOTION'S ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

BY DR. GASTER.

III.—COMMENTARY.

I pass now to the detailed and minute comparison between the Aramaic text published here for the first time, and the two Greek translations, the LXX and Theodotion. This comparison will show how far the contention is justified by facts that the Aramaic text is the very original of those translations, especially of Theodotion's, and is not a translation from any of the Greek texts, or any other text in existence. I have used O. F. Fritzsche's edition,* which so far seems to be the best available.

At the same time I will offer some emendations of the Aramaic text, and some observations on the state of its preservation.

A. *The Song.*

V. 1. Is almost identical with Theodotion, and just as short; differing from LXX. Instead of φλογος we have however אתון נורא יקידתא, "The furnace of burning fire," corresponding to the second half of the LXX, τῷ πυρὶ ὑποκαιομένης τῆς καμίνου. *Azarias* is the *only* one who prays, not *all* as in the LXX.

V. 2. בריך corresponds exactly to εὐλογητὸς; משבח settles the reading αἰνετόν, and refers to the name of God. The verb is in the third instead of the second person, in conformity with the old Hebrew forms of praise, ברוך ה׳ לעולם אמן אמן Ps. lxxxix, 53, and more especially Ezra vii, 27, with which the first half of v. 2 is identical.

* Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Graece. Lipsiae, 1871.

V. 3. For the first ἀληθινὰ stands here קשוט, whilst for the second, which in some MSS. alternates with ἀλήθεια, we have the word מהימנין, identical with Syr. P. This is a proof for the original character of the Aramaic, where two distinct words are used instead of one and the same, as is the case in the Greek. We shall find later on similar examples of copiousness of language in Aramaic for various shades of identical notions, which are rendered however by one and the same Greek word. The two words יציב and מהימן are used together (Daniel ii, 45), and אמת ויציב is the form used in the morning prayer of the Jewish Liturgy, which dates from the times of the second Temple.

V. 4. Our text has the singular, דין דקשוט, "true judgment," corresponding to v. 7, ἐν ἀληθινῇ κρίσει, where the same words occur.

איתיתת, twice so in the MS., must be altered into אייתיתא. the *scriptio plena*, which we find in most cases of 2 s. in our text. It corresponds to Theodotion ἐπήγαγες in both instances in this verse.

σοῦ of the LXX is omitted by Theodotion and in our text. ὅτι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ κρίσει is not a very happy juxtaposition, it is contrary to the constant combination of '*truth*' with '*judgment*.' In our text we have the correct form *in true judgment*, or *judgment of truth*, once before in the same verse, and in v. 7. *Cf.* also Nehem. ix, 33.

V. 5. ἐν πᾶσι of the LXX, neither Theodotion nor our text. ἀποστῆναι is as near a translation as can be found of ואעדנא, the Aphel-form of עדי, to depart, to remove oneself from. It stands in the finite form, and is parallel with the two preceding verbs and the following ושטנא; so also Syriac, ed. Lagarde.

V. 6. The Greek translator has read בכל as it is in the Syriac (ed. Lagarde) instead of מכל, hence the peculiar ἐν πᾶσι, which gives no satisfactory meaning. It ought to read ἐν πᾶσι ταῖς ἐντολαῖς, according to the Aramaic text. The whole text of the two verses (7 and 8) does not seem to have been well preserved in Greek. V. 7 looks like an unnecessary repetition of v. 4. In the Aramaic we have in v. 8 the justification for the true punishments, and the way how they have been carried out. The LXX reading of v. 7 seems to be the more accurate.

V. 8. ἐχθίστων ἀποστατῶν is omitted in the Aramaic text, which does not know of apostates, and which has, *wicked and bad kings*, מלכין *pluralis*, instead of the singular of the Greek, which may have been interpolated into the Greek by a copyist who thought probably of Antiochus, "the wicked king." The difficulty felt of old about the "apostates" is thus solved, and the speculation about the wicked king falls to the ground. (*Cf.* Fritzsche, *l.c.*, p. 125.)

V. 9. The wording of the Aramaic favours Theodotion's Greek form ἐγενήθη against the senseless ἐγενήθημεν; the construction is however somewhat different in both versions. The Aramaic text agrees with Daniel ix, 16; *cf.* Joel ii, 17; the Greek translator must have thought of Isaiah xxx, 5, as he has αἰσχύνη καὶ ὄνειδος as in Isaiah, instead of only αἰσχύνη as in the Aramaic text.

V. 10. The Aramaic text has, "thy *great and holy*" added to "name," which is missing in Theodotion and LXX. שהידותך corresponds to Hebrew עדותיך, "Thy law, covenant." תשכח, wrongly translated διασκεδάσης. The idea of God *forgetting* the Covenant is taken from Deut. iv, 31.

V. 11. Abraham, "thy beloved," ἠγαπημένος, is not a very correct translation of רחימך, which ought to be rendered by, φίλος σοῦ, the usual title of Abraham. (*Cf.* Isaiah xli, 8.) The Semitic original for this translation has been suggested also by De Wette (*l.c.*, p. 509); Syriac has also רחימך.

V. 13. Instead of the word עזרנא, which does not exist in Aramaic, we ought to read זערנא, "we have been diminished," "we have become less," ἐσμικρύνθημεν.

ὅτι is impossible, it must be καὶ νῦν, ועד כאן, "and now."

ἐσμεν ταπεινοὶ is the inexact rendering of דמסכנין אנחנא, "miserable," "poor," and helps us to recognize the Semitic original.

V. 14. In the Aramaic is no trace of a *king*, as Fritzsche and others suggest. רב = ἄρχων, is the "leader" of the people; פחוותא וסגנין (copied from Daniel iii, 2, 3) are the "governors" and "deputies." In the Greek the last word is missing; the Syriac has, like our text, four offices, but in a different order: head and governor; prophet and leader.

"Incense" missing in Aramaic.

V. 15. Is based upon and modelled after Ps. li, 19. Fritzsche is perfectly right in omitting the interpunction before ὡς, which belongs to the preceding. The division of the verses is undoubtedly

wrong in the Greek text, as is evidenced by the Aramaic. Here v. 16 commences with כדון, *οὕτως*.

V. 16. Is hopelessly corrupt in the Greek, as pointed out by Fritzsche; *καὶ ἐκτελέσαι ὄπισθέν σοῦ* is omitted by the Syriac. It may have been a marginal variant which has crept into the text. The Vulgata alone has preserved the old true reading, "ut placeat tibi," corresponding to לרעוא. Ethiopic has: "and let it (our sacrifice) be perfect with thee."

εσται, Theodotion for *εστιν*, LXX, is justified by the Itpael form יתכלמון.

V. 17. בעין, "we pray," "we are desirous," has been evidently misunderstood by the translator as meaning 'quærere' (*cf.* Dan. ii, 13, 20), hence, "we follow thee" or, "seek after thee;" but in the Greek, the first *καὶ* is to be omitted, and the tense of the verb changed to the Infinitive. *Ζητοῦμεν τὸ πρόσωπόν σοῦ* is likewise not a correct translation of the Aramaic ונתבע מן קדמך, which means, "and we beseech thee." מן קדמך has been taken to have the meaning of Hebrew מפניך, and was translated accordingly. The verse does not finish here as now in the Greek, but is continued further, being connected with the following through די, "that thou puttest us not to shame," which gives an excellent reading.

In the same way is v. 18 to be connected with v. 19, *καὶ* being left out and *ἐξελοῦ ὑμᾶς* connected with *σοῦ*. Instead of בסגי, one could read also כסגי. *κατὰ τὰ θαυμάσιά* is identical with Jerem. xxi, 2, נפלאותיו, but whether it stood in the original is doubtful. In the Aramaic it is missing; it may have dropped out.

V. 21. בלחודך, which means "alone," has been incorrectly translated *Θεὸς μόνος*, as if it stood אל חד, and the whole sentence has got a dogmatic meaning alien to the Aramaic text. But no stress is laid on the *Oneness* of God, only on His *omnipotence*, just as in 1 Chron. xxix, 12, viz., that God is "the ruler over the whole world"; *ἐνδοξος* for שליט, rather freely.

V. 22 agrees more with Theodotion. *οὐ διέλιπον* has no counterpart in the Aramaic, unless it is added by Theodotion to make the statement more emphatic, or עבדין has been taken as a participle and constructed with נסיבו, as meaning, "and they commenced, or continued, to do." I am the more inclined to believe in such a misunderstanding, as the latter word is not translated at all. The *ὑπηρέται* are the שמשוהי, the word דמלכא seems to have

followed it, instead of preceding it as in the Aramaic. Theodotion must have read בען נסיבו עבדין שמשוהי דמלכא, etc. גלילין occurs for a second time in the following Dragon legend, v. 6, where we have the verb ויגלול, to *roll*. I translate it therefore, "and they made *balls* of naphtha, pitch, and tow." Theodotion took it to be the plural of גילא or גלא, hence κληματίδα, (*cf.* Levy, Targum-Wörterbuch, I, p. 139, s.v. גילא).

V. 23. Commences then naturally with לאסגאה, "to increase." If we had here לאסקא, which means, "to light, to incense," and also "to ascend," then Theodotion must have mistaken the meaning and translated, "to ascend," "to stream out." In consequence thereof Theodotion omits נורא ושלהוביתא in v. 24, as an unnecessary repetition. The Aramaic text, however, is quite correct, as in v. 23 the intention of increasing the fire and flame is mentioned, and in v. 24 quite a new thing happened, those very flames "streamed out and burned them" (*i.e.*, servants of the king), "*and* all those Chaldæans that stood about the furnace." In the Greek יתהון is omitted, undoubtedly by mistake, the "servants" were probably understood to be included among "the Chaldæans."

V. 25. The Aramaic ואיצטנין, which means, "and it *cooled* down," is rendered by the senseless, ἐξετίναξε "to smite out, to throw out" the fire from the oven. A misunderstanding of the original Semitic word, which becomes still more evident in the curious translation of v. 26, כרוחא די מנשבא טלא, which means, *as a wind that blows (and causes) the dew (to descend).* This is very much alike to the formula inserted in the Eighteen blessings of the Morning prayer, dating from the time of the second Temple, where it alternates with the other formula, "Thou makest the wind to blow and causest the rain to descend." Both are based upon Ps. cxlvii, 18, "He causeth his wind to blow and waters flow." (*Cf.* Treatise Taanith, fol. 2A, first Mishna.) The Greek misunderstood מנשבא, and translated, διασυριζον, whistling. May be that he knew only the other Aramaic form נתב as meaning to blow, and hence his misunderstanding of נשב.

This passage has also been pointed out by De Wette as proving a Semitic original; v. 27 will therefore have to be translated, "and he made in the midst of the furnace like unto a wind that blew down dew," etc. The Syriac has, "the angel *of dew* went down."

Theodotion, τὸ καθόλου = כל. παρηνώχλησεν is rather inappropriate after ἐλύπησεν (*cf.* Daniel iii, 27), and is probably due to a misunderstanding of מידעם, a word, by the way, that does not occur in biblical Aramaic.

V. 27. יקידתא is omitted in the Greek; the Syriac has אתונא דנורא.

Vv. 28–65 of the Greek finish regularly with εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, or εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, as if it stood in the original always לעלמי עלמיא, in sæcula sæculorum, or לעלמין. This is not appropriate, however, in all cases, and is due, in every probability, to a confusion of בעלמא with לעלמא, the former meaning "*in the world*," or "*all over the world*," and "not for ever." In our Aramaic text we find indeed both forms used with the necessary discrimination between the two. God's Name is to be praised for ever; His *creatures* cannot very well praise Him for ever, as they themselves are transitory, but they can praise Him in this world and above everything. The former is therefore used more in vv. 27–34, the latter in all the subsequent verses, where the creatures are appealed to to raise their voices in praise of God. Syriac has throughout לעלם like the Greek.

V. 28, absolutely identical with Theodotion, who has not παντας, as in v. 29, corresponding with the Aramaic כל; also only in v. 29. τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης is an incorrect translation of the Aramaic שמך ויקירא (רבא), "Thy great and glorious Name," רבא is omitted by Theodotion.

V. 30. In Aramaic there is nothing for the Greek τῆς δόξης σου, which proved a stumbling block from very ancient times (*cf.* Fritzsche, *l.c.*, p. 128). May be that יקירא, from v. 29, or יקר, v. 31, was added afterwards, in order to make the first half of the verse correspond with those two verses. It is thus a later interpolation.

The Ithpaal forms of תשתבח and תתייקר explain the ἅπαξ-λεγομ: ὑπερυμνητὸς καὶ ὑπερένδοξος, as the Greek translator felt forced to translate those emphatic forms here and in v. 32. For יקר and its derivation, δοξα is always used. I add here a list of the translations of vv. 28–33, which will show the relation between the original and the Greek.

משבח, v. 28, αἴνετος; v. 29, ὑπεραινετὸς; v. 32, ὑπερυμνητὸς; תשתבח, v. 30, ὑπερυμνητὸς; v. 31, αἴνετος; v. 33, ὑμνητὸς.

(Theodotion read thus, משבח in vv. 28, 31 and 33, and תשתבח, vv. 29, 30, 32.)

מרומם, vv. 28 and 29, and תתרומם, v. 31, are all translated ὑπερυψούμενος; תתייקר, v. 30, ὑπερένδοξος; מהדר, v. 32, ὑπερμενούμενος, and תתהלל, v. 33, δεδοξασμένος.

The Aramaic is more varied in expressions and more original in its forms, whilst the Greek is forced, and clearly an imitation of the Aramaic.

Vv. 31 and 32. Theodotion now reversed (*cf.* Fritzsche, *l.c.*) probably later alteration. V. 31. δόξης after θρόνου in some codices of Theodotion is justified by יקר. The expression is borrowed from הדר מלכותו, Ps. cxlv, 12, "His glorious kingdom."

V. 32. דאשתקעתא, "who hast lowered the abyss," or "causest the depths (abyss) to sink down," *i.e.*, "established them down below," is mistranslated, ἐπιβλέπων. Theodotion must have read the word differently, probably some form derived from שקף: "to look," דאשקפתא? (*cf.* Deut. xxvi, 15; Ps. xiv, 2; Lament. iii, 50, etc.) The whole Song is modelled evidently after Ps. cxlviii. The same order is followed in both, only the subjects are more numerous in the Song.

V. 33. Like Theodotion, שמיא, "of the heavens," after στερεώμα, רקיע.

V. 35 of the Greek, which is only a repetition of v. 33, is missing in the Aramaic (*cf.* Ps. cxlv, 4).

V. 35 Aramaic = 36 Greek.

V. 36 Aramaic = 37 Greek. καὶ πάντα, which is out of place, is omitted in the Aramaic. καὶ has been omitted also by Theodotion (v. Fritzsche, *l.c.*), *cf.* Ps. cxlv, 4.

V. 37. חילייא, exactly the δυνάμεις of Theodotion = צבאיו, Ps. cxlv, 2.

V. 39 of the Greek is missing in the Aramaic. In Syriac B it is marked with an asterisk, as being a later interpolation (*cf.* Fritzsche, *l.c.*, p. 129).

V. 38 = Greek 40. שמייא, plural, whilst Greek τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

V. 39. (Greek 41.) πᾶς, probably taken from the following verse, as it is here quite out of place. Omitted in the Aramaic.

V. 40. (Greek 42.) πνεύματα, an inexact translation of רוחיא, instead of the proper, ἄνεμοι. One proof more for the Semitic of being the original, and the Greek a translation (*cf.* De Wette, *l.c.*).

V. 41–44. (44 Greek.) The MSS. of Theodotion's version differ very much among themselves about the text and the order of these verses, which is far from being settled. Our Aramaic text is of extreme value for the reconstruction of the original text, and proves its absolute independence from the Greek.

Each verse in the Aramaic stands for two of the Greek. I divide them into *a* and *b*, the first and second half, for easier comparison, and I add also the numbers of LXX.

V. 41*a* = 43 Theodotion and 43 LXX, *fire and heat.* 41*b*, *cold and warm*, corresponds exactly with Theodotion 48, ψῦχος καὶ καῦμα, although he uses καῦμα also, v. 21, whilst the Aramaic has חמימא in the second instance. The LXX has, v. 44 (ed. Fritzsche, p. 76), ῥίγος καὶ ψῦχος, and the same idea of ice and cold and snow and frost is repeated at least four times (vv. 44–47) without any apparent reason, unless it is due to inaccurate translation. Vv. 45 and 47 of the LXX are omitted entirely by Theodotion, probably as unnecessary repetitions, and the position of the others is changed.

V. 42*a*. רעפיא must be read רעמיא, "*thunders and lightnings*" (literally, "arrows"); *cf.* the first half of Theodotion and LXX, 50, ἀστραπαὶ. The "thunder" is left out. 42*b*. קברא must be read קורא; the words קרח and קורא are taken from Ps. cxlvii, 17, where they occur together, *ice and cold*, Theodotion, v. 49, πάχναι καὶ χιόνες. In the LXX we have the choice of vv. 46 or 47, 46 being a more accurate translation of קרח and קורא, πάγος καὶ ψῦχος.

V. 43*a*. *Vapours and clouds* (Ps. cxlviii, 8), Theodotion 50, has only νεφέλαι, whilst the LXX has, v. 45, δρόσοι καὶ νιφετοὶ, which latter word could be a corruption from δ. κ. νεφέλαι. The alterations into νιφετοὶ may have suggested itself through v. 50, where νεφέλαι is, however, not in its proper place, at least according to the Aramaic text. 43*b*, *nights* and days, Theodotion, 46; LXX, 48.

V. 44*a*. Light and darkness, Theodotion, 47; LXX, 49. 44*b*, קיבלא ועמיטתא, "blackness and gloom," or, as I would prefer to translate, "dusk and dawn." These two are omitted in both Greek translations.

The text has now a more systematic and harmonious appearance: first heat and cold in the abstract, then thunder and lightning, then ice, frost and snow, then vapours and clouds, then day and night. All these are phenomena that happen in the air, the earth and its elements follow naturally upon it.

V. 45*a* = Greek 51. Aramaic, the *lands*, plural; Theodotion, γῆ. 45*b* (Greek 52), mountains and hills.

46*a* = Greek 53. 46*b* has only מבועיא, these are "the fountains of the deep" (*cf.* Genesis vii, 11), and must therefore be mentioned before "the seas and rivers." The transposition in the Greek text is therefore not likely to be due to Theodotion, who moreover agrees with the Aramaic in omitting ὄμβρος (so the LXX), mentioned already before, in v. 41. Similarly we must alter θάλασσα, v. 55, Greek, into θάλασσαι = ימיא of the Aramaic.

Instead of נוניא, Theodotion must have read תניניא, hence κήτη instead of the simple *fish*.

V. 48*a*. (Greek 57.) τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ is as literal a translation of the Semitic ציפרי שמיא as can be wished. Theodotion has πάντα = Aramaic כל in 57 and 58, in the latter only before θηρία, just as in the Aramaic.

חיותא means the wild, and בעירא the tame animals, and are faithfully rendered by θηρία καὶ τὰ κτήνη; *cf.* Ps. cxlviii, 10, החיה וכל בהמה, "beasts and all cattle."

V. 49. (Greek 59.) Theodotion, υἱοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, without οἱ = Aramaic בני אנשא; כל is omitted in the Greek.

V. 50. (Greek 61–62.) The second half of this verse seems to have dropped out in the Aramaic, as each verse has as a rule *two* distinct parallel subjects; and here only priests are mentioned. Theodotion has δουλοί = עבדי, after ἱερεῖς, כהנייא, and κυρίου after each, just as in the Aramaic דיי. We must therefore complete the Aramaic verse accordingly.

V. 51. (Greek 63.) רוחין ונשמי צדיקיא = πνεύματα καὶ ψυχαὶ δικαίων. The wording leaves it undecided whether it is a question of the living or the dead (*cf.* Fritzsche, *l.c.*, p. 130). The following half of the verse mentions however the living, ענוי לבב, ταπεινοὶ δῃ καρδίᾳ. The קדישין, ὅσιοι, must necessarily also be taken as living. (*Cf.* Daniel vii, 21, 22, 27), and we shall translate therefore: *the spirits and souls of the just.* The juxtaposition of רוח and נשמה occurs in Job xxxiv, 14. I cannot see here any idea of the trichotomy of man as suggested by Fritzsche.

V. 52. (Greek 65.) שאול is rendered ἅδος. Theodotion has ἔσωσεν before ἐκ χειρὸς θανάτου, as in the Aramaic פריק before מידא.

Theodotion εκ μεσου καμίνου = Aramaic מן אתון, "From

the burning fire and flame He has saved us." Of these words, דליק ושלהובין are missing in both Greek translations, omitted probably because they appeared an unnecessary repetition of the foregoing verse. יציל is better rendered by ἐλυτρώσατο, LXX, than by ἐῤῥύσατο, with which Theodotion is credited; as שיזב is translated so in the same verse, and it is not likely that he should have repeated the same word when he had to translate another Aramaic word, יציל.

53. (66.) הודין, Greek ἐξομολογεῖσθε corresponds exactly.

53*b* (67) differs completely from the Greek. The whole verse is not addressed to anyone. V. 52 concludes fitly with the three Children, all the others having been enumerated before. There was no room for σεβόμενοι to be repeated, as they were included among the δοῦλοί, etc. (vv. 50 ff. Aramaic, 61 ff. Greek). למרי עלמא, "The lord of the universe," must have been strangely misread by the LXX and Theodotion, as well as the following, הוא אלהין, "He is God." They have τὸν Κύριον, τὸν Θεὸν τῶν θεῶν, "the Lord, the God of gods." This verse is evidently modelled after Ps. cxxxvi, vv. 2 and 3, the Targum of which runs thus:—. . . . שבחו לאלהי אלהיא . . . . שבחו למרי מריא. Theodotion or the LXX may have thought of these verses, and have changed the primitive form found in the Aramaic for the other more dogmatic, but alien to the text.

The result of this detailed comparison is, that the Aramaic is a more primitive and more correct text, agreeing in the main with Theodotion, but differing sufficiently from his text to show its independence from any of the existing forms of the Greek. It represents thus the oldest text of the Song, and helps us to reconstruct the primitive form of Theodotion's Greek translation as it must have been before it was altered and interpolated from the LXX.

By these means we shall be able to reconstruct also the original form of the version of the LXX, as this also must have suffered many alterations and interpolations from Theodotion and others. Those readings in Theodotion which differ from our text will have to be considered as originating from the LXX, and *vice versâ* those agreeing more closely with our Aramaic text than the corresponding portion in Theodotion, have crept into the LXX from Theodotion.

We shall thus obtain a clearer insight into the true character of

the old LXX version before Theodotion, and understand better the reason for its elimination from the church service; for it will be found to differ very materially from the Aramaic text, with which Theodotion would then exactly correspond. For this very reason the former had been eliminated, and the latter substituted instead, though it has become rather mixed in the course of time. It must be borne in mind that the Song formed, from very ancient times, part of the Church Hymn book, and is often found added to the Psalter. Hence the profound alterations to which it was subjected, and the amalgamation of LXX and Theodotion.

We are much better off in the other legend, where such causes did not operate to alter the character of the two translations; and I pass on to the examination of—

Daniel and the Dragon.

V. 1. (LXX 23; Theodotion 23.) The Aramaic text has באתרא ההוא, "in that place," in common with LXX, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ, and רב וסגיא, "great and mighty," with Theodotion μέγας.

תנין is rendered by both δράκων.

כל, missing in the Greek.

V. 2. (24.) Aramaic totally different. No trace in it of "brass," which was suggested in the Greek by the tale of the brazen idol Bel (v. 7), nor of "eating and drinking." Instead of προσκυνησαν we have צלי, "pray."

V. 3 is missing in LXX, but is v. 25 Theodotion, with which the Aramaic text agrees in general, but has more than the Greek למלכא, "to the king;" דאבהתיי, "of my fathers;" and רב ודחילו, "mighty and awe-inspiring," which are all missing in the latter. *Syriac* identical with Theodotion.

V. 4. (LXX 25; Theodotion 26.) איקטל, identical with Theodotion, αποκτενῶ; and not LXX, ἀνελῶ. All the ancient versions have then, "a sword and staff," μαχαίρας (Theodotion), σιδήρου (LXX) καὶ ῥάβδου Syriac הוטרא. Only the Aramaic has the proper word, חניתא, "lance," which must have been read הוטרא from very ancient times. חרב וחנית is a standing phrase in the Bible, *cf.* I Samuel xiii, 19, 22; xvii, 45, 47; xxi, 9.

V. 5. The Aramaic text is again more complete. The permission asked for by Daniel is granted in express terms, אנא יהיב לך =

Theodotion 26, *δίδωμί σου*, and not LXX, *δέδοταί σε*, and then follows "leave to do unto it all that thou wishest," which LXX and Theodotion omit.

Vv. 6 and 7. (LXX 26; Theodotion 27.) I have already drawn attention in the Introduction to the great difference between these and the corresponding Greek verses. Among the ingredients we have also וכיתן, "flax." *μᾶζας*, Theodotion, is proved by גליל, "a round lump." The whole portion of the iron hatchets is missing in the Greek texts, and thus no satisfactory reason for the death of the dragon is given, at least by Theodotion. The LXX have the large mass of 30 manehs for the lumps made by Daniel. Theodotion, *τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν*, is identical with Aramaic, which he must have read הא כען דהויתין פלחון קדמוהי, omitting אלהכון, and took it to be the plural. Totally different is the ironical question of the LXX, *οὐ ταῦτα σέβεσθε*. Syriac differs from all.

V. 8. (27, Theodotion 28.) Almost identical with Theodotion, *ἠγανάκτησαν λίαν* is an excellent translation of the idiomatic תקוף להון, which is repeated in v. 10 (Theodotion 30), and has the meaning "to be mightily (incensed) against . . ." *cf.* Targum to Psalm xviii, 8, דתקיף ליה, etc. Much clearer is the sentence in the Aramaic, "for we know now that thou art like unto one of the Jewish men." Theodotion, *Ἰουδαῖος γέγονεν ὁ βασιλεύς*; *cf.* Fritzsche (*l.c.* p. 152). Aramaic has, after *ἱερεῖς*, "of Bel and his temple," and, instead of *κατέσφαξε*, תבברתא, "thou hast broken up."

V. 9. (Theodotion 29.) Aramaic much shorter, a continuation of the words spoken by the people in v. 8, and not a new statement, as in Theodotion. בביתך, *in* thine house, Theodotion has read וביתך, *and* thine house.

V. 10. (Theodotion 30.) Here Theodotion has rendered תקיף by *ἐπείγουσιν σφόδρα* (see above v. 8), and instead of דבעו למקטליה "they wanted to kill him," we find, *ἀναγκασθεὶς*, "constrained," which is rather a mild description of the danger threatening him. Some other Aramaic word must have stood in the original used by Theodotion, or, what is more probable, with the change of a few letters he may have read the words as (מסר) ובאולצניה, "and in his being constrained, delivered," etc.

V. 11. (31.) ושויאו, "they placed," I should like to read instead וישדיאו, "they cast," as it corresponds exactly with Theodotion, *ἔβαλον*. Instead of *αὐτὸν* we have in the Aramaic "Daniel."

Aramaic שבעה, seven, Theodotion and LXX ἕξ, six days.

V. 12. (Theodotion 32.) Aramaic has the addition of באתרא ההוא, 'in that place.' The real meaning of σώματα, which could mean also "slaves," is proved by the Aramaic פגרי אינשין to be "human corpses."

V. 13. (Theodotion 33.) The Aramaic בארעא דישראל is much more correct than Theodotion, Ἰουδαίᾳ, as the prophet Habakkuk lived in Israel and not in Judæa. ἥψησεν ἕψεμα is as litteral a translation of מבשל תבשילא, "sod a pottage" as could be wished for. Instead of σκαφην the Aramaic has שקיה, "his sack" or "knapsack." The Syriac has ערבא, a very scarce word, which is translated *dish*, and seems to be a *hapaxlegomenon.* I am inclined to amend the word into טורבא = Persian توبره = knapsack, which would make it absolutely identical with the Aramaic.

In the Aramaic we have also an addition of למיכל לחצדייא, "to feed the reapers."

14. (34.) Aramaic has also some small additions: והא, "and there was" (or "appeared"); in some codices ὁ is preceding ἄγγελος; זיל is added to ואייתי in conformity with the spirit of the Aramaic, "go and bring." Instead of ἔχεις we have דבשילתא, "which thou hast cooked." After בבל the word קרתא, "town," is added here and in v. 15. והב ליה, "and gave it to him" (to Daniel), is also missing in the Greek.

V. 15. (35.) למלאכא not in the Greek.

V. 16. (36.) Here a peculiar confusion has crept into the Greek. Theodotion does not seem to have understood properly the word קדלא, which he translated κορυφῇ "the crown," whilst the true meaning of it is "neck." There is then no tautology with the following, "hair," or as the Aramaic has it, "lock of his head," צוציתא. Aramaic adds, "and he set him with the food that he had in his hands over the mouth of the lions' den which was in Babylon."

V. 17. (36, 37.) The Aramaic text helps us here also over one of the most perplexing passages of the Greek text, of which no one has hitherto been able to extract a proper sense. *Cf.* Fritzsche (*l.c.*, p. 153–4), who does not mend matters. The words כד תב רוהיה, must have been strangely misread, possibly as ברתח רוחיה, "the vehemency," "fury," ῥοίζῳ, and has been united with the preceding verses, thus producing a totally unintelligible sentence.

The Aramaic on the contrary is perfectly clear, and shows unmistakably that it must have been the original. The meaning is, "And when his breath came back to him" (or "he recovered his breath") which he had lost through the quickness of the flight, "Habakkuk called Daniel and said." After [illegible] adds, "thine," אלהך.

V. 18. (38.) Aramaic begins with וישבח וצלי, "and Daniel praised and prayed, and said," which is natural when beholding the unexpected divine help. Instead of *καὶ* we have די, "for." For the rest this verse is identical with Theodotion.

V. 19. (39.) Theodotion, *παραχρῆμα* LXX (38) *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ*: Aramaic, בשעתא חדא, "in one hour." Theodotion read probably הדא, "*in that very* hour."

V. 20. (40.) Aramaic והוה, as in vv. 7, 8, 13, and 17. וקם ואזל, also a peculiar Aramaic construction similar to וישבח ואמר וקרא וצלי throughout the text. In the Aramaic there is no trace of *πενθῆσαι*. Did Theodotion read למיבכי instead of למיחזי?

V. 21. (41.) Aramaic מלכא, so in LXX, missing in Theodotion; Aramaic רב וסגיא (*cf.* v. 20). Greek only, "great" (or loud). Aramaic has the third person, "is the god of," אלהיה. Greek, *εἶ*, "art thou." Aramaic ויקירא, "and glorious" (*cf.* Song of Three Children, v. 29). Theodotion (and LXX) have instead *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν σοῦ.*

V. 22. (42.) Aramaic has ופקיד מלכא, "and the king gave orders." Theodotion omits these as well as the words מן גוב אריוותא.

אכלו קורציה, idiomatic expression, which is paraphrased by *αἰτίους τῆς ἀπολείας αὐτοῦ.*

אמר מלכא, also missing in Theodotion and LXX.

בפריע, Theodotion, *παραχρῆμα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ*; probably he read בפניו. Syriac has even more, "before him and before Daniel."

This minute comparison between the Aramaic text and Theodotion proves beyond doubt that the former is absolutely independent of the Greek. Not a single trace can be detected of any Greek influence, either in language or in construction. Both are pure Aramaic, agreeing in every point with the known characteristics of that language. No translation could be as perfect, and no text that we have can be looked upon as a probable or even possible original. But everything points to the contrary conclusion—that

this Aramaic text represents the original from which Theodotion made his translation. Numerous instances of misreadings and misinterpretations have been adduced in the course of our examination, which prove conclusively the dependence of the Greek text upon this very Aramaic text. The close resemblance between the Aramaic and Theodotion in the Tale of the Dragon is beyond dispute. In this piece we recognise, more clearly than in that of the Song, how thoroughly Theodotion differed from the LXX, and we find in the Aramaic text the reason for the profound changes introduced by him into his translation. He tried to approximate it as closely as possible to this original from which the LXX had deviated so much. With the assistance of the Aramaic text, we are now in a position to remove many of the mistakes that have crept in, and to reconstruct the same text of Theodotion.

Not having found a place in the Liturgy, this tale has suffered less from interpolations, and we have therefore two distinct Greek texts, and not a mixed text as in the case of the "Song." In the Tale of the Dragon we are therefore also in a better position to see how closely Theodotion follows the Aramaic text.

Judging the Song, then, in the light of this almost absolute identity of Theodotion with the Aramaic, we are forced to admit, as already indicated above, that the literary tradition of the two Greek texts is far from being correct, that the difference between Theodotion and LXX must have been more profound than is now the case, and that we shall have to recast the existing text of Theodotion and also that of the LXX, as both translations have exercised a mutually deteriorating influence upon each other, taking as basis for the reconstruction this Aramaic text, which, as I have tried to prove, is the original from which those translations have been made. The mistakes, which have their origin in wrong readings and misinterpretation, prove also conclusively that the original was Aramaic, and not Hebrew.

IV. Translation.

A. *The Song of the Three Children.*

V. 1. And the three went into the furnace of burning fire, praising and blessing the Lord. And Azariah stood up to pray, and he prayed thus; and he opened his mouth and said: V. 2.

"Blessed be he, the God of our fathers, and be his name praised and glorified for evermore. V. 3. For thou art true in all that thou hast done to us, for all thy works are true, and thy ways established, and all thy judgments faithful. V. 4. Yea, true judgment hast thou wrought in all (*the things*) that thou hast brought upon us, and upon Jerusalem the holy city of our fathers, for true judgments hast thou brought upon us, because of our sins. V. 5. We have sinned, and we have committed iniquity, and we have departed (withdrawn) from thee. V. 6. And we have turned aside (trespassed) from all the commandments which thou hast commanded us, as we have not been willing to keep and to observe them, that it might go well with us. V. 7. And because we have not done (observed) thy commandments and statutes, V. 8. thou hast wrought true judgment in that thou hast delivered us into the hands of lawless enemies, and into the hands of wicked and lawless kings in all the lands. V. 9. And now we cannot open our mouths, for thy servants who cling to thee have become a shame. V. 10. And we beseech thee not to deliver us up wholly, for the sake of thy great and holy name, neither to forget thy covenants. V. 11. And cause not thy mercy to depart from us, for the sake of Abraham thy beloved, and thy servant Isaac, and thy holy Israel. V. 12. To whom thou hadst spoken that (*thou wouldst*) multiply their children as the stars of heaven, and as the sand (*that lieth*) on the seashore. V. 13. And now we are become less than any other nation, as we are miserable (poor) this day in all the lands because of our sins. V. 14. And at this time we have neither a leader nor prophets, neither governors nor deputies, neither burnt-offerings nor sacrifices, nor oblations, as there is no place to bring all these before thee (*in order*) to find mercy. V. 15. But in a contrite heart and humble spirit let us be accepted like as burnt offerings and sacrifices of rams and bullocks, and like thousands of fat lambs. V. 16. Thus may our sacrifice to-day be acceptable in thy sight: for they shall not be confounded that put their trust in thee. V. 17. And now we desire with all our heart to fear thee. V. 18 and we pray unto thee, that thou puttest us not to shame, but that thou dealest with us after thy lovingkindness, and according to the multitude of thy mercy. V. 19. Deliver us and give glory to thy name, O Lord; and let all them that do thy servants hurt be ashamed. V. 20. And let them be confounded in (in spite of) all their power, and in (in spite of) their strength let them be broken. V. 21. And they shall know that thou alone art

ruler over all the lands. V. 22. And now the servants of the king and his attendants, that threw the three men into the furnace, took naphtha, pitch and tow, and made balls, V. 23. in order to increase the flame of the fire 49 cubits above the furnace. V. 24. And the fire and the flame streamed forth and burnt them and every one of the Chaldaeans that were standing by the side of the furnace. V. 25. And the angel of the Lord came down into the oven with Azariah and his fellows, and the fire of the oven cooled down. V. 26. And he made in the midst of the furnace like unto a wind that blew dew, and none of the fire touched them, nor were they hurt in any way. V. 27. Then those three with one mouth praised, and glorified and blessed God in the midst of the burning furnace, and said: V. 28. Blessed is the Lord God of our fathers, and to be praised and exalted for ever and ever. V. 29. And blessed be thy great and glorious and holy name, and praised and exalted over all the world. V. 30. Blessed art thou in thy holy temple, and to be praised and glorified over all the worlds. V. 31. Blessed art thou upon the throne of thy glorious kingdom, and to be praised and exalted for ever and ever. V. 32. Blessed art thou, who hast lowered the abyss and sittest upon the cherubim and be praised and glorified in all the worlds. V. 33. Blessed art thou in the firmament of heavens, and be extolled and praised for ever. V. 34. O all ye works bless ye the Lord God, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 35. All ye angels bless ye the Lord God, praise him and exalt him over the world. V. 36. O ye waters that be above the heavens bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 37. All ye hosts of God, bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 38. O ye stars of heaven bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 39. O ye rain and dew bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 40. All ye winds of God, bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 41. O ye fire and heat, bless ye the Lord, O ye cold and warmth bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 42. O ye thunders and lightnings bless ye the Lord, O ye ice and frost bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 43. O ye vapours and clouds bless ye the Lord, O ye nights and days bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 44. O ye light and darkness bless ye the Lord, O ye dusk and dawn bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 45. O ye lands bless ye the Lord, O ye

mountains and little hills bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 46. O all ye things that grow in the earth bless ye the Lord, O ye deep fountains bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 47. O ye seas and rivers bless ye the Lord, O ye fish and all that move in the waters bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 48. O all ye fowls of the heavens bless ye the Lord, O all ye beasts and cattle bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 49. O all ye children of men bless ye the Lord, O Israel bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 50. O ye priests of God bless ye the Lord, *(O ye servants of God, bless ye the Lord)*, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 51. O ye spirits and souls of the righteous bless ye the Lord, O ye holy and humble men of heart bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world. V. 52. O ye Hananyah, Azariah, and Mishael bless ye the Lord, praise him and exalt him in the world, for he hath delivered us from Sheol and saved us from the hand of death; for he delivered us from the furnace of burning fire, and he hath saved us from burning fire and flames. V. 53. Give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, as his mercies (*endure*) for ever, and bless ye the Lord of the World, he is God, praise him and exalt him in the world.

B. *Daniel and the Dragon.*

V. 1. And in that place there was a great and mighty dragon, which all the Babylonians worshipped. V. 2. And the king said unto Daniel, now thou canst not say that this here is no living god, therefore pray to him. V. 3. And Daniel answered and said unto the king, I pray only to the Lord God of my fathers, for he is a living God, mighty and awe-inspiring. V. 4. But if thou, O king, wilt give me leave, I will slay this dragon without lance or sword. V. 5. And the king said unto Daniel, I give thee now leave to do unto it all that thou wishest. 6. And Daniel went and took pitch and fat and flax and hair, and rolled them into one lump, and he made unto himself iron hatchets, and rolled all that round and round the hatchets, and he threw it into the dragon's mouth. V. 7. And it came to pass when the dragon had swallowed it and it had gone down into his stomach, the fat and pitch melted away from the hatchets, and the dragon was injured by the (spurs) points of the hatchet, and

died. And Daniel said, lo, this is your god, whom you worshipped. V. 8. And when they of Babylon saw that the dragon was dead, they were all greatly incensed, and they gathered together and went up before the king, and they spake, saying, now we know that thou art like unto one of the Jewish men, for lo! thou has destroyed Bel, and the dragon thou hast killed, and the priests of Bel thou hast broken up, together with his temple. V. 9. And now, if thou deliverest not Daniel into our hands, we will kill thee even in thine house. V. 10. Now when the king saw that they were all greatly incensed so that they wanted to kill him, he delivered Daniel unto them. V. 11. And they cast Daniel into the lions' pit, and he was there seven days. V. 12. For there was a pit in that place, in which there were seven lions, and they used to give them every day two carcasses, and two sheep; and on that day they were not given to them, to the intent that they might devour Daniel. V. 13. The prophet Habakkuk was then in the land of Israel, and he sod a pottage to feed the reapers, and placed bread in his sack, and went to bring it to the reapers in the field. V. 14. And lo, the angel of the Lord *(appeared)*, and spoke to Habakkuk the prophet, saying, go and carry now this pottage which thou hast made to the town of Babylon, and give it to Daniel, who is in the lions' pit. V. 15. And the prophet Habakkuk answered and said to the angel, my lord, I have never seen the town of Babylon, neither do I know the lions' pit. V. 16. And the angel of the Lord took him by the neck and bore him by the lock of his head, and he set him with the food that he had in his hands over the mouth of the lions' pit which was in Babylon. V. 17. And when he recovered his breath, Habakkuk called Daniel, and said, take now this food which thy God has sent thee. V. 18. And Daniel praised and prayed, and said, O Lord God, thou hast remembered me, neither hast thou forsaken all those that love thee. V. 19 And Daniel arose and did eat; and the angel of the Lord carried Habakkuk back to his place in one hour. V. 20. And it came to pass on the seventh day that the king arose and went to the lions' pit to see Daniel, and he saw Daniel sitting in the den. V. 21. And the king cried with a loud and mighty voice, and said, the Lord God of Daniel, He is great and glorious. V. 22. And the king ordered to draw Daniel out from the lions' pit, and those men who had calumniated Daniel, the king ordered to cast them in there. And they cast them in the lions' pit, and the (*lions*) devoured them in a moment.

POSTSCRIPT.—I have since acquired a Hebrew Manuscript (now Cod. Hebr., 130 of my collection) written in a Spanish hand, of the end of the XVIth century. It is a collection of tales. One among these (No. 72 f. 162a–165a) is now the Hebrew translation of the Syriac text of Bel and the Dragon, published by Dr. Neubauer, from the Midrash Rabba de-Rabba. (The book of Tobit, Oxford, 1878, p. 39–43). This translation is as literal as possible, therefore of no small importance for the criticism of that text, especially as it contains a few remarkable variations. I select only one, as it corroborates the reading of our Aramaic text in one of the most interesting variants. V. 13 reads in this MS.: "Now Habakkuk was a prophet in Judah, and he had in his hands a pottage (seething) and in *his knapsack* bread, to bring to the reapers in the field:" "וחבקוק היה נביא בארץ יהודה ובידו תבשיל ובאמתחתו לחם להביא לקוצרים בשדה:", agreeing thus exactly with the Aramaic, in that Habakkuk carried the bread in a *sack*, and in nothing else, although the Hebrew-Syriac text has also the word עורבא for it.

The next Meeting of the Society will be holden at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, the 5th March, 1895, when the following Paper will be read:—

P. le P. Renouf (*President*), "Human Sacrifice, and the Theory of Substitution in Egyptian and other Ancient Religions."

ERRATUM.

January Proceedings, p. 38, *for* Unas *read* Unas .

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bücher der Könige und Paralipomenōn im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.
AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
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——— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
BAETHGEN, Beitrage zur Semitischen Religiongeshichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.
BLASS, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.
BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
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BUDINGER, M., De Colonarium quarundam Phoeniciarum primordiis cum Hebraeorum exodo conjunctis.
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——— 2nd series, 1869.
——— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
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EARLE'S Philology of the English Tongue.
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Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
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——— Vingt-quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes de la Collection de.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
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Johns Hopkins University. Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology.
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Ledrain, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
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Visser, I., Hebreeuwsche Archaelogie. Utrecht, 1891.
Walther, J., Les Découvertes de Ninive et de Babylone au point de vue biblique. Lausanne, 1890.
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——— Textbuch-Keilinschriftliches zum Alten Testament.
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Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. I, 1847; Vols. IV to XII, 1850 to 1858, inclusive; Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
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VOL. XVII. TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION.

Third Meeting, March 5th, 1895.

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TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1895.

Third Meeting, 5th March, 1895.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President.

IN THE CHAIR.

The President referred to the severe loss suffered by the Society by the death of—

Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Bart., K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., etc. (*Vice-President*).

Professor F. J. Lauth, Munich (*Hon. Member*).

Hyde Clarke, D.C.L., F.R. Hist. Soc., etc., etc.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Prof. Guidi. Abyssinian Proverbs, etc. Rome. 8vo. 1894.

From the Author:—Rev. Joseph Horner, D.D. Pul, Jareb, Tiglath-Pileser. A Chronologico-Historical Study.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 5th February, 1895, and elected Members of the Society:—

Rev. Percival Clementi-Smith, M.A., 35, St. Andrew's Hill, E.C.
Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, 237, South 21st Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 2nd April, 1895:—

S. Hirschfeld, Bream's Buildings, Fetter Lane, E.C.
Rev. J. J. C. Valpy, Elsing Rectory, E. Dereham.
David J. Waugh, 4, Florence Place, Falmouth.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) on "Human Sacrifice and the Theory of Substitution in Egyptian, and other Ancient Religions."

Remarks were added by the Rev. J. Marshall, Walter Morrison (*Vice-President*), W. St.C. Boscawen, and the President.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. Le Page Renouf.

Continuation of Notes on Chapter 110.

The Garden of Aarru, , is often mentioned in connection with that of Hotepit, and may perhaps be considered as the most notable part of it. It is through its Gate that the Sun-god rises up into Heaven.

It takes its name from a plant *àarru* (later, , B.M. 551; , *Ag*, Chapter 17; ,* *Ba*, Chapter 110, by phonetic dissimilation of *rr* into *nr*). The usual form in later times is , but we find even shorter forms in , B.M. 32, and . The determinative of a reptile, indicates a *creeping*, *climbing*, *twining* plant, such as the convolvulus, hop, or vine.†

* Compared with , in the papyrus of Nesichonsu, published by M. Maspero, *Miss. Arch.*, I, p. 612.

† The Pyramid Texts have the invocations (*Unas*, 597), "Hail to thee, Horus, in the domains of Horus; Hail to thee, Sutu, in the domains of Sutu; Hail to thee, Lion (*Àar*), in the Garden of Aarru."

Another derivation is suggested in the "Destruction of Mankind," line 39, (as I read it) an augmented form of , which does not mean *pluck*, as in Brugsch's translation, but *bind*, *fasten*, *twine*, *nectere*, *con-*

The term 'Garden' implies in this connection nothing more than a cultivated enclosure.

The names of different localities which are invoked by the deceased and appear on the vignette of the chapter, have here been made prominent by means of heavy type.

1. *Rise in Hotepit*, or (later on) *Hotep*, , is the name of one of the localities. The word , as I have often said, has the sense of *rising up*, *coming to light*, *making an appearance*, and like the Greek φαίνομαι is especially applicable to the appearance of daybreak, or the rise of the heavenly bodies.

2. *Turning*, . The group has the apparent sense of *building*, but the primitive sense is *turning*, as in the making of pottery. The preposition which follows it in this place seems to show that building is not meant.

3. This, of course, sounds like nonsense, but so does the original as it has come down to us. The papyrus of Ani, which reads , forces the sense of *day* upon the sign ○, which in the

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stringere, *convolvere*. This sense would explain the ancient determinatives , , and lead to still more interesting results. For the ancient word , *àarerit*, 'a vine,' has thus clearly the same etymological sense as our European word *vine*. "*Vî-num* . . . attaches itself to *vî-tis*, *vî-men*, *vî-tex*, and—exactly like the Greek ϝοῖ-νος—to the Indo-Greek root *vei*, 'to twine.' So that *vî-no* means first 'creeper,' then 'fruit of the creeper,' finally 'drink made from the fruit of the creeper'" (O. Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, p. 324).

Philological speculation might make a further advance.

As *àar*, is to *ār*, so perhaps is *àarru* to *āru*. The first two groups are not phonetically identical, but they are certainly allied and have very much the same meaning; the last has, with some probability, been identified with the *Vine-branch*, and that, in conjunction with the text (see *Zeitschr.*, 1878, p. 107, and the plate corresponding). "The Vine-plant is Osiris." The Greeks, or some of them at least, identified Osiris with Dionysos (Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, 34, 35). The god is sometimes (as in the papyrus of Nebseni) sitting in a naos under a vine, from which bunches of grapes are hanging.

sense of *turn* would have been far more intelligible. There was the 'Portion of Sutu,' and the 'Portion of Horus,' each being half the world, topographically, or half the twenty-four hours as regards time.

I suspect that 'day' is a faulty interpretation of the ambiguous ○, and that the true sense of the passage in that Sutu is satisfied with the share which comes to his turn, and thereupon delivers Horus from imprisonment in the lower world. The perplexity, or ignorance of the copyists is seen in the very next words. One has 'he who is in Merit,' others 'he who is in my mouth,' and two 'he who is in the egg,' if this be the sense of the very questionable group , which looks like a mistake for , a well known title of Anubis.

4. *Again and again renewed* .

5. *His papyrus.* So the word *meḥit*, which occurs in the rubric of Chapter 134, has hitherto been translated. But the vases or , as determinatives, rather imply 'inkstand' or 'palette for holding colour.' In this place it is the writing itself and not the material, paper, ink or inkstand, which is meant. And from the entire context Thoth is the god who is spoken of.

6. *He reconcileth the two Warrior gods with each other,* . The final words *en àru-sen* show the origin of the Coptic form ⲛ̀ . . . ⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ *invicem.*

7. *Grind* , the Coptic from of which is ⲥⲓⲕⲓ. From the notion of 'reducing to powder,' that of the frequent word 'wearing away,' 'decay,' is derived.

8. *Let my arteries be made fast, and let me have the enjoyment of the Breeze,* or *that I may have enjoyment.* The oldest meaning of the word *artery*, ἀρτηρία, in Hippocrates, Aristotle and the earlier Latin writers is *wind-pipe*, and, in the plural, *air-ducts.* But, even when the word was also applied to what we call arteries, these were supposed to convey *air* whilst the veins conveyed *blood.* "Sanguis per venas in omne corpus diffunditur et spiritus per arterias" is the classic doctrine in Cicero (*de Natura Deorum*, 2, 55). Pliny says

(*Nat. Hist.*, XI, 89), "arteriae carent sensu: nam et sanguine." This error is corrected by Galen, who has a treatise on the question "Whether Blood is *naturally* (κατὰ φύσιν) contained in the arteries?" The error of the ancients arose from the arteries always being found empty after death. The blood flowing from a wound inflicted upon them was inferred to have been intruded into them by the rupture of the veins. The Egyptian doctrine of the 'arteries' (Coptic ϩⲁⲡⲛⲉⲩⲧ) in the head, by means of which air is conveyed to all parts of the person, was first found by M. Chabas in the *Berlin Medical papyrus*. The passage of the Book of the Dead on which this note is written is no doubt the earliest allusion to the doctrine.

9. *Hesit* [*the Cow-goddess*] , , , is one of the many names of Isis or Hathor. She is represented as suckling her son Horus (see picture in Lanzone, p. 844), and it is this which characterizes her and from which she derives her name. She is asked on the Louvre tablet (c. 14) for "the white liquor which the glorified ones love." This is distinctly called 'milk' on the Florentine tablet 2567, and vases of her milk are mentioned (Dümichen, *Resultate*, 27, 6) in the inscriptions of Dendera. A picture of her given in Dümichen's *Historische Inschriften* (II, 32) identifies her with Hathor, and calls her "divine mother, mistress of heaven and sovereign of the gods," while others call her "the divine mother and fair nurse."

There can be no doubt about the right reading of the name which is *Ḥesit;* the —•— is written in so many texts (see *Pepi*, I, 306, *Amamu*, 21, 1, Lepsius, *Auswalh*, IX, and the form at Philae), that there is no reason for confounding the name with that of *ḥetemit*. We must therefore attach no importance to this latter name when applied in the vignette of the Turin *Todtenbuch* to one of the divine abodes which bears the name of the goddess, and is written exactly like it.

10. *Uach* *blooming, flowering.*

11.—*The winged things of Shu are given to me, and my Kau follow me.*

, , is a word of very rare occurrence. Birch and Naville understood it of the *netting*, and Brugsch, of the *pluming* of birds. Both meanings may be disputed, but whatever Shu did, was done to birds, and these are said to be given to the deceased.

The prayer that a person may travel over the blissful parts, followed by his *kau* , is repeatedly found on the early monuments. Several papyri say that the deceased is followed by 'the gods and the *kau*.'

12. *T'efait* , an abode abounding in *delicacies*.

13. *He is in heaven* . The reading to which Brugsch at one time attached much importance, has turned out to be one of the many blunders of the text of Sutimes. But the true reading is not without its difficulties. If is taken as equivalent to we have a strange anticipation of a change in language of which the "enigmatical" texts of the royal tombs* give the first intimation, but which first becomes conspicuous in the demotic period. In a previous passage we have , where Nebseni has . But the important preposition had already dropped out of the earlier text of Chāemhait. The demonstrative particle which occurs in both places may be rendered 'there [he is],' 'le voila.'

14. *I salute the stream of T'eserit:* a corrupt passage like so many others in this chapter. The first word 'salute' is rare but correct and well attested. The proper name is but one of the contradictory readings. It has, however, the advantage of being a real name and suitable to the passage, being

* Here we already have , and . See my article in the *Zeitschr.*, 1874, p. 102.

that of a goddess mentioned in connection with the next abode. *T'eserit* is a name corresponding to the classical 'Αγλαία or Clara.* In the texts of the Royal Tombs she is named as goddess in *Cher-āba.* And here† she is depicted as the goddess with long or flowing locks (εὐπλόκαμος) and armed with horns. She is one of the forms of Isis or Hathor.

15. *Kankanit* is etymologically akin to the verb of *beating* (*see* Chapter 17, note 20), but there is no reason from the notice here to suppose that this was a place of punishment.

16. *Userit* is one of the commonest appellatives of Isis, especially in the later texts. The names of all these abodes, situated in that region of the sky where the sun rises, are derived from the notion of daybreak.

17. *Smait*, another of these appellatives, *see* Chapter 62, note 1.

18. *The Emerald ones* , those who are in the emerald light of the dawn. The sun rises (Chapter 109) through two sycomores of emerald.

19. *Which have the force of purification* . The syllable *āb* expresses the word signifying *horn* as well as that signifying *purification.*

The vignettes of the chapter which are here given from different authorities are explained in their proper place.

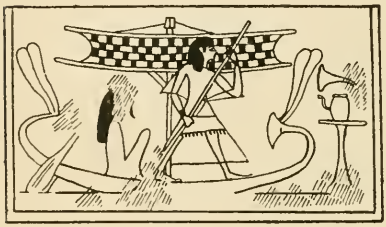
* It is also the name of a liquid substance , a produce of the cow, such as cream or clarified butter. It occurs in all the lists of offerings.

† A reference to M. Naville's collation of this chapter (line 40), will show the corruption and uncertainty of the text which precedes the name of the goddess. If we look beyond the authorities given by M. Naville, the difficulties are multiplied. The papyrus of Queen Net'emit in the Louvre, for instance, stead of *etc.*, reads, .

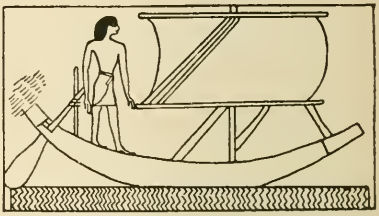
PLATE XXV.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER XCIX. **Papyrus Busca.**

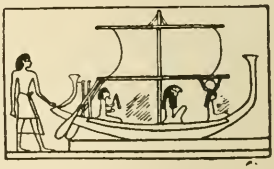


CHAPTER XCIX.
Papyrus, Berlin Museum, No. 2.

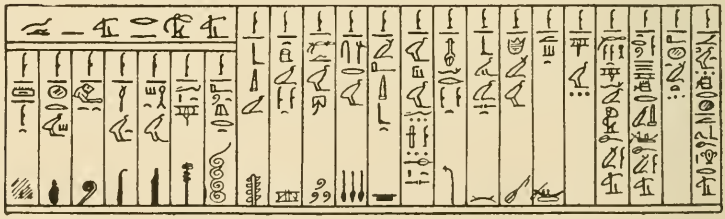


CHAPTER XCIX.
Papyrus, Brit. Mus., No. 9905.

CHAPTER XCIX.
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre. No. III, 89.



CHAPTER XCIX.
Papyrus Brocklehurst, II.

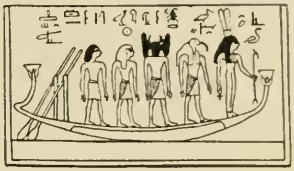


CHAPTER XCIX. **Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9900.**

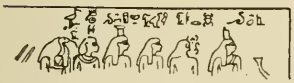
PLATE XXVI.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

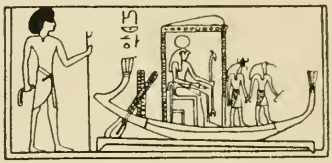
CHAPTER C.
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, No. III, 93.



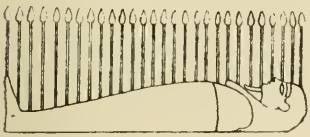
CHAPTER C.
Papyrus, Boulaq Museum, No. 21.



CHAPTER C.
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, No. III, 89.

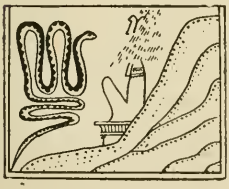


CHAPTER CII.
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, No. III, 36.

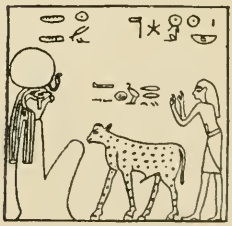


CHAPTER CIX.
ROSELLINI, "Mon. del Culto.," pl. XXIII.

CHAPTER CII.
Papyrus Brocklehurst, II.



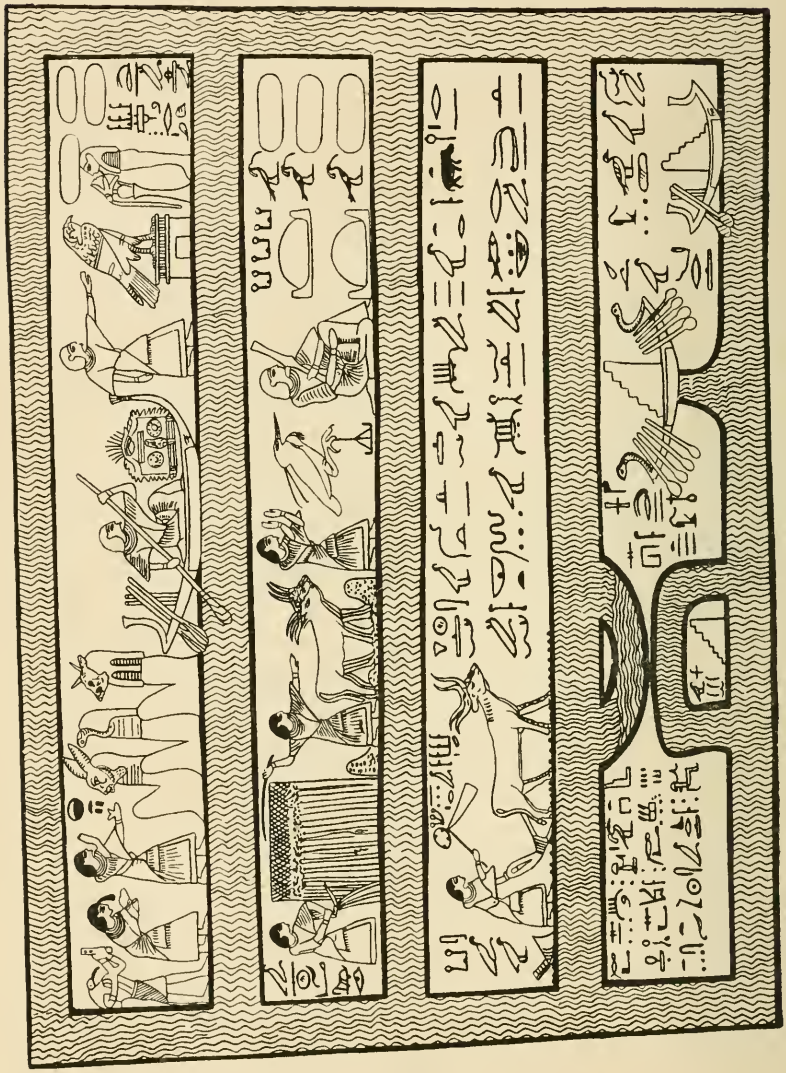
CHAPTER CVIII.
Papyrus, Berlin Museum, No. II.



CHAPTER CIX.
Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9900

PLATE XXVII.

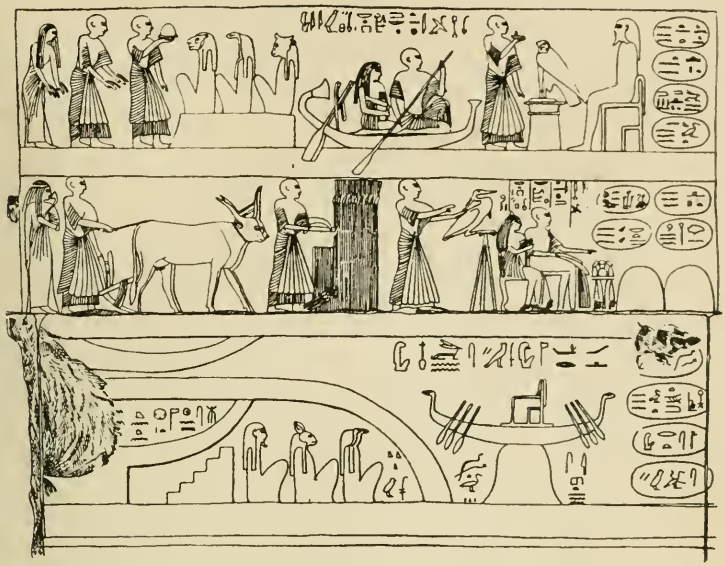
BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER CX. **Papyrus, Leyden Museum.**

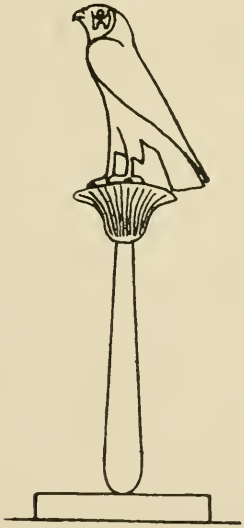
PLATE XXVIII.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

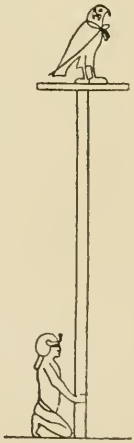


CHAPTER CX. **Bas Relief, Leyden Museum.**

CHAPTER CXII.
MARIETTE,
"Abydos," I, p. 83.



CHAPTER CXII.
MARIETTE,
"Abydos," I, pl. 39.

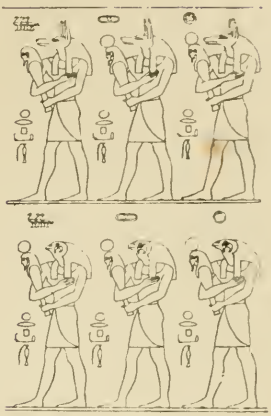


CHAPTER CXII.
MARIETTE,
"Abydos," I, p. 82.

PLATE XXIX.

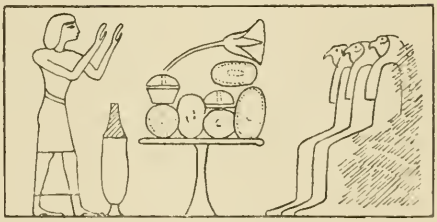
BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER CXII.
MARIETTE, "Abydos," I, pl. 10.

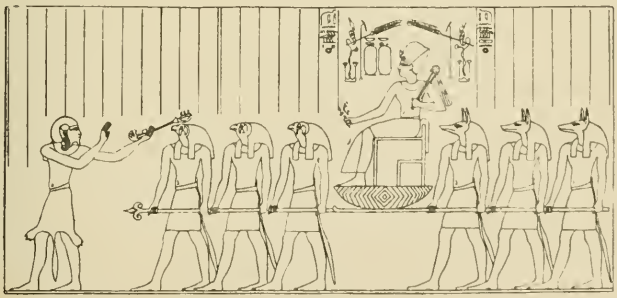


CHAPTER CXIII.
MARIETTE, "Abydos," I, pl. 29.

CHAPTER CXII.
Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9900.



CHAPTER CXIII.
Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9964



CHAPTERS CXII AND CXIII.
MARIETTE, "Abydos," I, pl. 31.

ÉTUDE SUR ABYDOS.

UN DIALOGUE DES MORTS : LE CHAPITRE D'AMENER LA BARQUE.

(*Traduction.*)

PAR E. LEFÉBURE.

Les fêtes symbolisant le départ des âmes se célébraient, non seulement à Abydos, mais encore dans tout le pays, avec une mise en scène très détaillée. Leur caractère dramatique, signalé par Hérodote comme par Diodore, avait dû nécessiter la composition d'une sorte d'aide-mémoire, scénario ou rituel, comme pour l'Apro, et il semble bien qu'il nous en reste une partie dans le vieux texte d'amener la barque. C'est une longue scène dialoguée entre un mort ou un officiant, et le Charon égyptien, d'abord, puis entre le mort ou l'officiant et un mystérieux personnage réveillé par lui, Aken, le tout au sujet du gréement de la barque infernale. On n'aurait probablement pas poussé aussi loin une telle rédaction, sans un but d'utilité pratique.

Le chapitre de la barque appartient à la haute antiquité, et se rattache aux croyances de l'ancien Empire plutôt qu'à celles du nouveau. Son existence au temps des premières dynasties est indiquée, dans les formules des pyramides royales, par des allusions et des citations fréquentes, mais c'est le moyen Empire qui nous a laissé le texte lui-même, sur les sarcophages de Horhotep,* de Satbast,† et de Mentuhotep.‡ Une seule copie plus récente se trouve au Livre des Morts de Tura,§ qui date de la dix-huitième dynastie.

Comme le dialogue dont il s'agit explique certaines particularités des rites d'Abydos, la traduction va en être tentée ici d'après ces

* Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles*, Sarcophage de Horhotep, p. 163–7, l. 425–494, et planche en photogravure, (première) portion du flanc droit.

† *Id.*, Sarcophage de Satbast, p. 228–231, l. 1–31.

‡ Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, pl. 12–15, l. 1–66.

§ Naville, *Todtenbuch*, ch. 99, A.

quatre rédactions, lesquelles diffèrent assez peu l'une de l'autre pour le fond : elles sont désignées dans les notes par les lettres A (Horhotep), B (Mentuhotep), C (Satbast), et D (Tura) : l'absence de lettre indique A.

Le texte le moins incorrect (car on ne saurait guère dire le plus correct), et le mieux conservé, celui de Horhotep, A, a été pris pour type : les passages ou les mots qui lui manquent, et qui sont dans B, ont été ajoutés entre crochets, tandisque les additions faites pour éclaircir le sens sont mises entre parenthèses. B était plus complet, mais il se trouve maintenant coupé ça et là par des lacunes ; il offre cette ressource que les interpellations adressées à l'officiant (il y en a une soixantaine) sont écrites à l'encre rouge, comme l'avait remarqué Lepsius.* C, qui ressemble moins à A qu'à B, présente le même avantage, mais il est très mutilé, et s'arrête à la l. 463 de Horhotep.

D est extrêmement fautif ; il fourmille d'omissions, de transpositions et de déformations de groupes ; de plus, il s'arrête à la l. 467 de Horhotep.

Plein de locutions spéciales et d'allusions obscures, comme bien d'autres textes religieux qu'on ne saurait encore interpréter d'une manière définitive, le chapitre de la barque nécessite une sorte de glose perpétuelle et, en conséquence, étendue : pour l'alléger un peu, les notes qui eussent été trop longues au bas des pages ont été renvoyées à la suite de la traduction, au moyen de chiffres romains ; ce sera le commentaire des parties les plus difficiles ou les plus intéressantes.

Une explication d'ensemble viendra ensuite, afin de montrer le jour que peuvent jeter ces vieilles formules sur les cérémonies d'Abydos.

TEXTE DE HORHOTEP.

Ligne 425. *Amener la barque* [*en enfer*†]. *Texte.*—Hé, Batelier ! Amène-moi ceci : amène-moi Horus à son œil, amène-moi Set à son scrotum (I). En cheminant,‡ l'œil d'Horus

* Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, p. 23.

† C'est le texte C qui ajoute .

‡ *Merenra*, l. 291 et Pepi II, l. 1283, ont , etc.

Ligne 426. est tombé, dans la partie orientale du ciel, et il défend son corps contre Set.* O Celui qui voit derrière lui (II), réveille-moi Aken. Vivat

Ligne 427. pour toi (III) ! Laisse-moi venir (IV). *Qui es-tu, toi qui viens* (V) ? Je suis celui qui aime son père, et que son père† aime, grandement, celui qui réveillera

Ligne 428. son père gisant. O Celui qui voit derrière lui, réveille-moi Aken. Vivat pour toi ! Laisse-moi venir.

Ligne 429. *Diras-tu, toi qui te diriges vers la partie orientale du ciel, pourquoi tu t'y diriges ?* Je relèverai sa tête, je redresserai sa face. Il vous donnera

Ligne 430. des ordres, et les ordres qu'il vous donnera ne seront ni périmés ni annulés en cette terre, à jamais. O Celui qui voit derrière lui,

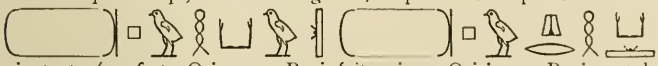
Ligne 431. réveille-moi Aken. Vivat pour toi ! Laisse-moi venir. *Qui es-tu, toi qui viens ?* Je suis le Magicien.

Ligne 432. *Es-tu pourvu ?* Je suis pourvu. *Es-tu muni ?*‡ Je suis muni. *As-tu*

Ligne 433. *disposé les deux membres* (VI) ? J'ai disposé les

* Il y a un texte analogue aux pyramides : "Horus crie après son œil, Set crie après son scrotum. En cheminant, l'œil d'Horus est tombé, dans cette partie orientale du lac de Kha, il défend son corps (le corps de l'œil et non, comme à Abydos, I, p. 45 et 83, le corps d'Horus) contre Set, et voit Thoth dans cette partie du lac de Kha. En cheminant, l'œil d'Horus, dans cette partie du lac de Kha, est tombé sur l'aile de Thoth, dans cette partie du lac de Kha ; ces dieux passent sur l'aile de Thoth vers cette partie orientale du ciel, afin de parler devant Set pour cet œil d'Horus ; ce roi passe, etc. Eveille-toi en paix, Mahaf ! (Pepi I, l. 674–6, Teta, l. 185–90, et Pepi II, l. 1282–7).

† , *sa mère*, d'après D.

‡ Il s'agit d'un magicien : c'est donc de sa magie qu'il est pourvu, comme le prouve d'ailleurs le *Todtenbuch*, (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, II, ch. 23, pl. 85 ; *cf.* Stèle Metternich, pl. 1, et l. 213–4) ; au ch. 94, l. 2, l'élu demande à être possesseur et pourvu des écrits de Thoth. Un texte des pyramides fait allusion à ce passage du ch. de la barque : "le ciel craque, la terre tremble, (secoués) sur les deux bras de ce Pepi. Pepi, c'est le magicien, Pepi c'est le possesseur de la magie,  , ce Pepi vient et réconforte Orion, ce Pepi fait primer Osiris, ce Pepi met les dieux à leurs places. Mahaf, taureau des dieux, amène ceci à ce Pepi, mets ce Pepi à sa place de vie et de bonheur." (Pepi I, l. 176.)

deux membres. *Que sont-ils, ces deux membres?* Le bras et la jambe. *Ensuite?*

Ligne 434. O Celui qui voit derrière lui, réveille-moi Aken. Vivat pour toi! Laisse-moi venir. *Je te réveillerai*

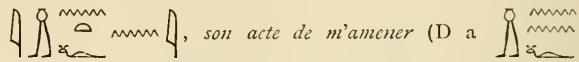
Line 435. *Aken, pourquoi donc?* (Pour qu')il m'amène* la réunion avec Khnemu (VII) dans l'intérieur de la Marcheuse du lac.† *La coupure est faite dans le*

Ligne 436. *mouillage* (VIII). Retire sa gauche, (à la barque), et pousse-la à (la place de) son arrière, retire sa droite et pousse-la à (la place de) son avant (IX).

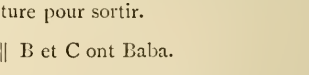
Ligne 437. *Elle n'a plus ses roseaux, elle n'a plus ses joncs,‡ elle n'a plus ses piquets* (X), *elle n'a plus ses courroies.* Ses joncs, c'est le pelage

438. qui est à§ la queue de Set, ses roseaux, ce sont les crocs (XI) qui sont dans la gueule de Baba, ses piquets,

Ligne 439. ce sont les piquants des lèvres de Bai,|| ses courroies ce sont les mains de l'image d'Horus¶

*  , *son acte de m'amener* (D a seulement); pour des infinitifs de ce genre, dans des phrases dont l'une est la conséquence de l'autre, *cf.* l. 451 : *tu viens et comment venir?*

† La barque, appelée aussi *l'Ameneuse*, , Merenra, l. 652, et Pepi I, l. 437. D au lieu de la *Marcheuse*, a , le nome héliopolite, *Hekes*. Si cette leçon n'est pas entièrement fautive, il y aurait là, comme *Hekes* désigne le pêche, le filet, le pêcheur, une allusion au rôle de pêcheur donné au batelier par le ch. 153 du *Todtenbuch :* la barque serait la Pêcheuse.

‡ , D ; ce mot est pris ici au sens général, comme dans l'hymne au Nil où il est dit que le fleuve *arrose les* , *créés par Ra pour nourrir tous les bestiaux* (Sallier, II, pl. 7, et Anastasi, VII, pl. 7). De même à Edfou (J. de Rougé, *Textes géographiques d'Edfou*, pl. 49), et au Livre d'honorer Osiris (Pierret, *Etudes égyptologiques*, I, p. 30). Les textes des pyramides placent aux portes de l'enfer les  de Set (Pepi I, l. 367), dont l'élu renverse la clôture pour sortir.

§ B a , *sur.*

|| B et C ont Baba.

¶ C'est une allusion probable aux statues des dieux, dont les bras et les mains étaient mobiles, ou bien encore aux serres de l'épervier. Les avirons de la barque infernale sont appelés les doigts d'Horus l'aîné (*Todtenbuch*, ch. 99, l. 16).

Ligne 440. qui agit : l'œil d'Horus les guide. O Celui qui voit derrière lui, réveille-moi Aken. Vivat pour toi ! Laisse-moi

Ligne 441. venir. *Qui donc gardera l'emplacement* de cette barque?* † Apporte cette queue du Velu ‡ et place-la à

Ligne 442. son arrière : elle la gardera. O Celui qui voit derrière lui, réveille-moi Aken. Vivat pour toi !

Ligne 443. Laisse-moi venir. *Qui donc te l'amènera avec moi?* Amène-la avec Neferneteru, et avec Amset, [Mesetmutdjesf], Hapi,

Ligne 444. Tuaumatf et Kebsenuf :§ il la gouvernera.‖ La dépouille (XII) (de la victime), placée à son avant, la guidera vers le lieu où

Ligne 445. il est. *Eh, pourquoi donc ceci?* Eh, en guise

* , ou , "pour nous ;" ce groupe ne se trouve que dans A.

† D intercale ici cette phrase : , "le Khenti militaire donnera ce qui la gardera."

‡ , D , surnom de Set ; les fils d'Horus , *vainquent Senem qui a arraché l'œil d'Horus, et l'a mangé* (*Denkmäler*, IV, pl. 46, *a*, l. 31). Deux déterminatifs du mot, dans ses diverses acceptions, sont et . Ici le Velu, *cf.* , c'est la victime du sacrifice, regardée comme typhonienne.

§ Neferneteru, *le meilleur des dieux*, est représenté à la 3e heure de l'Amtuat. Dans la liste des autres dieux, A omet , C omet Hapi, et D, qui déforme étrangement le mot Neferneteru, omet Amset. B seul a donc là six dieux, et il se pourrait qu'en réalité il n'en fallût que cinq : le nom de Mesetmutdjesf ne serait alors qu'une variante développée du nom d'Amset (, Oimenoptah, pl. XI, A). Aux pyramides, le groupe des quatre génies des canopes est maintes fois cité comme amenant la barque (Pepi I, l. 464–5, et Merenra, l. 551) ; d'autres fois, il est seulement question des quatre dieux (Merenra, l. 650–2, et Pepi I, l. 436). Cinq remorqueurs de la barque, sans doute les quatres génies et Neferneteru, figurent dans un exemplaire du *Todtenbuch* (Naville, I, ch. 99, pl. 112). Meset ou Set, , , désigne une sorte du bâton recourbé aux 2e et 4e heures de l'Amtuat, où à la 3e heure figure un taurocéphale appelé .

‖ *Cf.* Merenra, l. 641 : .

d'ailes (XIII), la dépouille. *Et ensuite? Ce ciel vente, et elle n'a point son mât.* Apporte

Ligne 446. ce phallus de Baba,* qui crée les enfants, qui engendre les veaux. *Je l'installerai, pourquoi donc*

Ligne 447. *cela?* Pour l'enfourchure† (du mât) et le commencement de la marche. [*Et ses cordages?*] Apporte ce serpent qui est dans la main de Hemen (XIV).

Ligne 448. *En quel endroit de la barque le mettrai-je donc?* Place-le dans sa sentine.‡ [*Et sa toile?*§ C'est la trame sortie de la tresse (XV) dont Horus ainsi que Nubt respirent l'odeur, au jour de la fête du commencement de l'année]. *Et la ralingue?*‖ C'est le lien

Ligne 449. de celui qui effraie les hommes.¶ *Qui est-ce, celui qui effraie les hommes?* Celui qui est en vie dans sa nuit

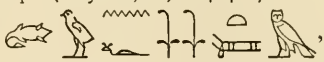
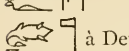
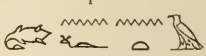
* Il faut probablement voir, dans cette conception, l'origine de différentes figurines obscènes de l'époque gréco-romaine, représentant des Priapes grotesques, avec mât et voile.

† Mot à mot *les deux jambes*, c'est-à-dire les deux branches de la vergue soutenant la voile.

‡ , *l'urine.*

§ B ; à la ligne précédente, A, où tout ce passage est tronqué, a , *la voile*, au lieu du mot *cordages.*

‖ Littéralement *les deux lèvres;* des lèvres, qui sont des liens, ne peuvent guère désigner ici que la corde qui borde les deux côtés de la voile, et qu'on appelle la ralingue. Ces différentes parties du navire, mât, câbles, voiles, et attaches, sont énumérées aussi dans le passage d'Homère qui décrit le départ de Télémaque (Odyssée, II, v. 424-6).

¶  , B ; malgré l'absence de déterminatif, le mot *temu* a été compris ici dans le sens d'hommes. Il y a un à la 5e heure de l'Amtuat (Champollion, *Notices*, I, p. 762), et un  à Dendérah, (IV, pl. 37, l. 76); le chapitre des pêcheurs représente Horus assis seul dans l'obscurité, invisible et *effrayant les êtres*,  , et les cordes de l'objet du filet y sont dites les liens, , du maître des humains (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, II, ch. 153, pl. 434-5). Le mot , vivre ou surgir la nuit du nouvel an, fait songer au feu qu'on allumait alors (J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. 279, l. 27 et pl. 281, l. 45), et les liens du personnage rappellent ceux d'Yama, le dieu des morts dans l'Inde.

Ligne 450. du commencement de l'année. O Celui qui voit derrière lui, réveille-moi Aken. Vivat pour toi ! Laisse-moi venir. *Qui es-*

Ligne 451. *tu, toi qui viens ?* Je suis le Magicien. *Tu viens, et comment venir ? Tu sors, et comment sortir ?** Je sortirai par le moyen des†

Ligne 452. célébrants (XVI) et des victimes (XVII). *Pourquoi ceci, et que fais-tu pour elle ?*‡ Je marche sur leur dos,§

Ligne 453. et je guide ses célébrants. *Que fais-tu encore pour elle ?* [Ma droite est à sa droite, mon devant à son avant, ma gauche à sa gauche, mon dos à son arrière. *Que fais-tu encore pour elle ?*] L'abattage de ses taureaux, l'égorgement de son oie, le tir (de son canard||).

Ligne 454. *Qui est-ce qui se place sur elle ?* L'Horus des chefs. *Qui est-ce qui prend ses objets mysterieux ?*¶ Le Khent chef aîné.

Ligne 455. *Qui est-ce qui dispose ses vases ?*** Le Khent, chef de la Bat (XVIII). *Que fais-tu encore pour elle ?*

* Mot à mot *comme quoi sortir ?* . C'est la sortie de ce monde pour s'en aller dans l'autre et monter de l'enfer au ciel ; *cf.* Unas, dernière formule.

† , forme de l'article et du pronom ; *cf. Todtenbuch*, ch. 106, *ô ce batelier qui es dans la Sekhet-aru,* (ou) (édition Naville, II, pl. 243), *conduis-moi aux îles* (ou, *cf. Recueil*, XIV, p. 170, *aux pains*) *de ton canal ; cf.* aussi , *selon ce que j'ordonne* (Oimeneptah, pl. 8, C).

‡ , et l. 453, , *relativement à elle*, la barque ; ici, et dans les demandes semblables, les autres textes ont , relativement à *eux*, la barque, les célébrants et les victimes.

§ Le dos des victimes.

|| Mot restitué d'après cette phrase des pyramides : (Teta, l. 389–390, et Merenra, l. 405).

¶ Le matériel du sacrifice.

** Les vases destinés à recueillir le sang et à placer le cœur de la victime, par exemple, comme on le voit dans l'Apro.

Ligne 456. Marche vers Khem le Coptite et Anubis Abataui :* je les découvre

Ligne 457. qui célébrent leurs fêtes, et qui moissonnent. [*Leurs*] *blés ont-ils des épis*† [*pour faire des pains*‡]? Sépare les tiges avec leurs faucilles§ qui sont

Ligne 458. à leurs pieds : [tu feras des pains avec (les épis)]. Que Celui qui s'élève me conduise|| à l'Elevée, que le Jeune de Pa me conduise au Jeune de Neteru (XIX),

* Ce titre d'Anubis, *maître des deux terres*, est écrit Sekhemtaui à la l. 468, B, et à la l. 487 (*cf. Zeitschrift*, 1885, p. 10) : le sens est le même sous ces deux formes. On remarquera que le principal hiéroglyphe du titre, le sceptre, était divinisé et porté sur une enseigne dans les processions, au moins à Dendérah, (Dendérah, IV, pl. 21).

† ; c'est le terme qui désigne sous les formes , , (Oimeneptah, pl. 2, B), , (même texte, tombeau de Séti I), et , (2e heure de l'Amtuat), les énormes épis du paradis égyptien.

‡ Les derniers mots de la question, dans B, paraissent bien être , *pour des pains.*

§ , et B : ces deux versions se complètent et se corrigent réciproquement. a, parmi ses sens, celui de séparer : *je ne viens pas pour* , *séparer le dieu du dieu* (Abydos, I, p. 42 ; *cf.* Merenra, l. 301). Ici, il s'agit de séparer la paille du grain : *sépare les tiges avec les faucilles*, ou, d'après B, *sépare les tiges d'avec les vases* à mettre le grain. Les pyramides mentionnent les rites de la récolte qui avait lieu pour la fête d'Uak (Pepi II, l. 707-8), et le *Todtenbuch*, au sujet des blés de l'élu, parle des faucilles ou des récoltes du dieu Khem (ch. 124, l. 2) : Khem présidait aux moissons.

|| ; *cf.* , *elles* (les heures) *conduisent Ra vers ce dont elles se nourrissent*, les douze petits du serpent Herer (Oimeneptah, pl. 7, C).

Ligne 459. auprès* de ces† dieux qui sont dans leurs demeures. Je les découvre qui lavent‡ leur linge : ils viennent

Ligne 460. avec les pains des dieux. Ils te feront des pains pour l'aller, des miches pour le retour. O Celui qui voit derrière lui,

Ligne 461. réveille-moi Aken. Vivat pour toi ! Laisse-moi venir. *Qui es-tu, toi qui viens ?* Je suis

Ligne 462. le Magicien. *Es-tu pourvu ?* Je suis pourvu. *Es-tu muni ?* Je suis muni.

Ligne 463. *As-tu disposé les deux membres ?* J'ai disposé les deux membres. *Que sont-ils, ces deux membres ?* Le bras

Ligne 464. avec la jambe. *Et ensuite ? Diras-tu, toi qui te diriges vers la partie orientale du ciel, pourquoi tu fais cela ?*

Ligne 465. Je gouvernerai les domaines, j'administrerai les localités,§ je connaîtrai celui qui possède et donnerai à celui qui ne possède pas. Je vous ferai des pains pour

* ; cette préposition ne se trouve que dans A.

† , d'après A, ce qui signifierait les dieux de Pa ; C. a , reste du démonstratif , qui est dans D : il y a simplement *les dieux*, dans B. Toutefois, il est fort possible qu'il s'agisse ici de Pa (*cf. Todtenbuch*, ch. 112, l. 1–2) : à Abydos le roi est dit (Abydos, I, p. 30, b). Unas, l. 202, mentionne aussi . Si est démonstratif, on peut le comparer à (Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 526).

‡ ; *cf.* le nom du lieu appelé le pays des Laveuses, et situé dans le district Héroopolite d'après M. Brugsch (*Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 392). Là, les divinités locales en rapport avec Osiris étaient Isis, Horus et Amset, selon le *Todtenbuch* (ch. 18, l. 34). Isis et Nephthys blanchissaient le linge du Soleil, (Abydos, I, p. 44 ; *cf.* Bénédite, Philæ I., p. 40).

§ ; cette phrase se retrouve dans une des formules de la pyramide de Merenra, l. 252 : , *il donne des ordres à ceux qui*

Ligne 466. l'aller, des miches pour le retour. O Celui qui voit derrière lui, réveille-moi Aken. Vivat pour toi !

Ligne 467. Laisse-moi venir. *Connais-tu le chemin sur lequel tu marches, hé, Magicien?* [Je connais le chemin sur lequel je marche. *Quel est-il, ce chemin* * ? Celui sur lequel marche

Ligne 468. le Sekhem-ta] quand il marche vers les Champs Elysées. *Qui est ton guide?* L'Abait-ti Kheb-ti (XX)

Ligne 469. est mon guide. *Qui parlera pour toi* † *à ce dieu auguste?* Udja-ab,‡ frère de Sakar, l'aîné.

Ligne 470. O Celui qui voit derrière lui, réveille-moi Aken. Vivat pour toi ! Laisse-moi venir.

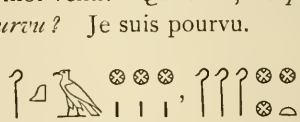
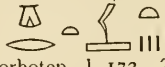
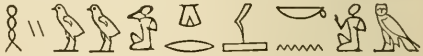
Ligne 471. *Je ne l'ai pas réveillé.* Dis : ô Dieu ! forcée est l'enceinte : je descelle ton coffre, je compte tes calames,

Ligne 472. j'ouvre tes livres (XXI); ma face est celle du Nun (XXII), ma vue est celle de Shu et mon ouïe

Ligne 473. est l'ouïe de Shu ; je donne des ordres aux Akhemu-Seku,§ je suis puissant [comme j'étais puissant] sur terre. *Pourquoi*

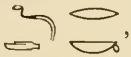
Ligne 474. *donc ceci? Hé! dit Aken, je suis, et j'étais mort!* Aken, amène-moi ceci. Vivat pour toi !

Ligne 475. Laisse-moi venir. *Qui es-tu, toi qui viens?* Je suis le Magicien. *Es-tu pourvu?* Je suis pourvu.

sont avec le Nun. Le titre  , est connu. Pour le mot *ker*,  , B, *cf.* Brugsch, *Zeitschrift*, 1886, p. 22, Pepi I, l. 162, Horhotep, l. 172, *Todtenbuch*, ch. 84, l. 3, J. de Rougé, Basse Egypte, p. 39, etc. *Ker* signifie, avec le contexte qu'il a ici, lieu habité, d'après son sens bien connu de posséder, occuper, habiter. On lit au texte de la Destruction des hommes, quand le Soleil a fait monter les hommes au ciel : *oh! tu m'as fait habiter par une multitude,* 

(l. 38–9).

* *Cf. Todtenbuch*, ch. 17, l. 20 et 22.

† D'après A il faudrait lire : *qui dira ton nom,* , *à ce dieu? Cf.* Pepi II, l. 1288. B paraît avoir  , leçon adoptée ici ; il s'agit de faire réveiller Aken par un intermédiare, sorte de de l'autre monde.

‡ Pour des expressions et des noms de ce genre, *cf.* Horhotep, l. 209 et 226, Pepi I, l. 410, Pepi II, l. 1191–2, et Merenra, l. 586–7 et 754–9.

§ Dieux des étoiles circumpolaires.

Ligne 476. *Es-tu muni?* Je suis muni. *As-tu disposé les deux membres?* J'ai disposé

Ligne 477. les deux membres. *Que sont-ils, ces deux membres [hé, Magicien?].* Le bras avec la jambe. [*Et ensuite? dit Aken*]. Amène-moi ceci. Vivat

Ligne 478. pour toi! Laisse-moi venir. *Suis-je donc maître de tout* ce que je t'amènerais,† hé, Magicien? Cette barque*

Ligne 479. *que voici, il n'y a pas son écope.* Apporte cette baguette de Khnemu qui vivifie ce qui est avec elle, et place-la dedans.

Ligne 480. Aken, amène-moi ceci. Vivat pour toi! Laisse-moi venir. *Suis-je donc maître*

Ligne 481. *de tout ce que je t'amènerais, hé, Magicien? Cette barque que voici, il n'y a pas ses agrès* (XXIII). Qu'est-ce qui lui manque?

Ligne 482. [*Il n'y a pas ses planches*], *il n'y a pas ses grelins, il n'y a pas ses poteaux, il n'y a pas son matériel.* Va vers ce dieu que

Ligne 483. tu ne connais pas, et rappelle-lui la totalité de ses agrès, marche, il te (les) donnera. *Qui est-ce, ce dieu (duquel tu dis) tu ne*

Ligne 484. *le connais pas, rappelle-lui la totalité de ses agrès, marche, et il te les donnera? Qui est-ce?* C'est Horus qui est avec le sceau (XXIV).

Ligne 485. Aken, amène-moi ceci. Vivat pour toi! Laisse-moi venir. *Suis-je donc maître*

Ligne 486. *de tout ce que je t'amènerais, hé, Magicien? Cette barque que voici, il n'y a pas‡ son câble.§* Apporte ce serpent

Ligne 487. qui est dans [la main de Hemen et d'Anubis] Sekhem-taui: place-le en elle, sa tête dans ta main, sa queue dans ma main, et tordons-le. Am-

* B a , le dieu Tmu, au lieu de , c'est-à-dire: "suis-je donc puissant comme Tmu? Amène toi-même."

† C'est-à-dire les derniers agrès de la barque, notamment le câble dont il va être question.

‡ B paraît remplacer par ; *cf.* la négation douteuse ; mais la boucle de peut être confondue avec un , dans B: la négation *ka* viendrait-elle d'une confusion semblable?

§ Son câble de remorque.

Ligne 488. tenuni (XXV) sera son nom aux bords (XXVI) des bassins qui sont dans ces deux régions. *Le fleuve est-il prêt?** Le fleuve est prêt et libre.

Ligne 489. Aken, amène-moi ceci. Vivat pour toi! Laisse-moi venir. *Qu'est-ce que*†

Ligne 489 *bis*. *ces deux régions, hé, Magicien?* C'est l'horizon avec la Crypte (XXVII), (objets de) mon désir. *Alors donc*

Ligne 489 *ter*. *tu connais ces deux régions, hé, Magicien?* Je (les) connais. *Qu'est-ce que*

Ligne 490. *ces deux régions, hé, Magicien?* C'est l'enfer‡ avec l'Elysée. Aken, amène-moi

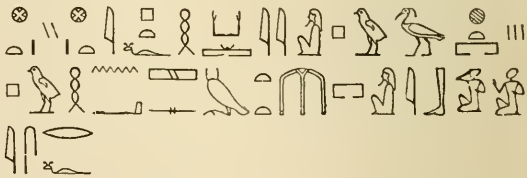
Ligne 491. ceci. Vivat pour toi! Laisse-moi venir. *Suis-je donc maître de*

Ligne 492. *tout ce que je t'amènerais, hé, Magicien? Diras-tu, [toi qui passes§ vers le lieu où est] ce dieu auguste, si tu me passes un individu*

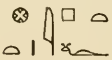
Ligne 493. *qui ne sait pas où sont ses doigts? [qu'il parle!* Je sais où ils sont. *Où? Donne les quatre doigts et le pouce, donne!* ‖]

* Cette demande manque dans B; le contexte indique suffisamment que c'est une interrogation.

† Après terminant la l. 489, la photographie ajoute ces deux lignes, qui manquent dans B:

Ligne 489 *bis*— 

Ligne 489 *ter*—

et le texte continue avec  de la ligne 490.

‡ Le monde souterrain distingué de l'Elysée, qu'on plaçait un peu partout.

§ C'est-à-dire qui veux passer (en barque).

‖ . La préposition a ici le sens de *par, selon, quant à*, c'est-à-dire "donne la main entière, selon les quatre doigts et le pouce."

Prends l'un et prends l'autre (œil), lesquels étaient éteints pour toi. *Alors* *

Ligne 493 *bis*. *donc donne-les, donne donc !* † Je (te) les donne. Sens vers moi ce dont tu as été dépouillé, ce dont tu as été privé.

Ligne 494. L'œil était perdu‡ pour toi, je (te) rends l'œil (XXVIII).

* Après terminant la l. 493, vient dans la photographie la ligne 493 *bis*, dont le début n'est pas dans B :

et la l. 494 continue en terminant le mot commencé , etc. B a

c'est-à-dire (prends l'un et prends l'autre œil) *que tu n'avais plus à la tête d'Horus. Je te donne pour accompagner ta face ce dont tu as été dépouillé, ce dont tu as été privé.*

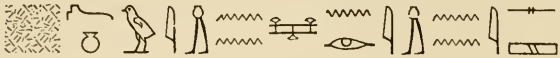
† Ces mots expriment le tâtonnement impatient d'un aveugle : Aken, bien que réveillé, n'a pas encore recouvré la vue, puisqu'il cherche les mains de son interlocuteur lui rapportant ses yeux. Dans toute cette fin, qui est assez obscure, il y a, semble-t-il, confusion ou assimilation de la face et des yeux d'Horus avec ceux d'Aken.

‡ , B . C'est évidemment le mot qui signifie *léser, déranger, troubler*, comme dans ce passage du papyrus Westcar : *il est arrivé qu'elle a dérangé,* , *son côté de rameuses* (pl. 6, l. 4).

COMMENTAIRE.

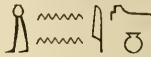
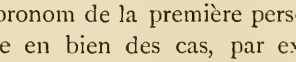
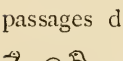
I. Ligne 425.—

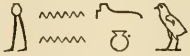
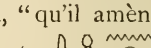
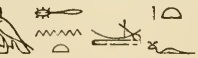
A , etc.

B  ,

C ,

D .

Dans le reste du chapitre il y a habituellement  , avec le pronom de la première personne dont l'absence est d'ailleurs fréquente en bien des cas, par exemple dans le nom de la fête de Haker, pour *Ha-k-er-a ;** on lit, au grand temple d'Abydos, à côté de  , dans une adoration adressée à Nefer-Tmu par le roi qui prend le rôle de Thot apportant l'œil d'Horus.† Quant à la forme de C, comme c'est une femme qui parle il est clair que est là pour , comme dans certains passages des Textes du mythe d'Horus, , "je t'amène,"  , "mon fils Horus," ou , et , "je viens."‡

Au chapitre de la barque, la question est de savoir s'il faut comprendre "j'amène," ou bien "amène-moi." Cette question est éclaircie par l'ensemble des textes qui concernent la barque aux pyramides royales. Là, c'est le batelier qui amène la barque,§ et le mort qui amène l'œil. "O conducteur de la barque de Sekhet-hetep, amène ceci à ce Pepi,"  *Pepi*  .‖ Teta ordonne à Mahaf, batelier du lac de Kha, "qu'il amène (ou lui amène) sa barque,  (ou) d'après Pepi I), du lac de Kha, dans laquelle il passe les dieux vers

* *Recueil*, X, p. 146.

† Abydos, I, pl. 37, *b* ; cf. *Todtenbuch*, édition Naville, ch. 173.

‡ Pl. 5, pl. 1, pl. 3, l. 3 et 6, et pl. 5, l. 4.

§ Cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 99, l. 1.

‖ Pepi I, 405, et Merenra, 578–9 ; *cf.* Pepi I, 176 et 473, Merenra, 316, et Horhotep, 375–380.

cette partie du lac de Kha, vers la partie orientale du ciel." * Une autre formule est ainsi conçue : " Face en arrière, portier d'Osiris, fais amener à ce Pepi cette barque à toi, *Pepi* , dans laquelle tu passes tes saints pour recevoir la libation sur cette voie (*uar-t* †) des Akhemu-seku." ‡

On lit ailleurs, au contraire : " apports d'Horus, (ce qu')il aime, Teta lui apporte son œil " (comme à Set son scrotum et à Thoth son bras), *Teta* .§ Différents personnages, qui ne sont pas représentés comme des bateliers, apportent aussi l'œil dans les scènes des l'Amtuat, par exemple : et , à la deuxième heure, ou , à la troisième ; Thoth, auquel l'élu se compare ou s'assimile ici en qualité de *Hekau*, Magicien, portait les titres de *an-ut'a*,‖ et de *s-hetep-neteru*.¶ (Au *Todtenbuch*, l'élu ramène encore d'autres membres divins.**)

Deux autres formules des pyramides, à la verité fort obscures, semblent montrer le roi et le batelier se faisant un apport réciproque : " Face-en-avant-face-en-arrière, amène ceci à Unas (pour qu')Unas t'amène cela, *Unas* *Unas* (Pepi II, 1002, a); batelier, amène à Unas, *Unas*, celle qui s'envole et se pose " (le véhicule symbolique de l'aile).†† Et : " Mahaf-herfhaf, laisse venir ce Pepi à la vie, il t'amène cet œil d'Horus, , relevé, qui était dans la prairie de la navigation, amène ceci à ce Pepi, la barque," *Pepi* .‡‡ (Cette phrase est

* Teta, 193–4, Pepi I, 677, et Pepi II, 1290–2.

† *Cf.* Merenra, 661, et Pepi I, 672.

‡ Pepi I, 411–2, Merenra, 589–590, et Pepi II, 1194–6.

§ Teta, 26–7.

‖ Abydos, I, pl. 37, *b* ; *cf.* Brugsch, *Supplément au Dictionnaire*, p. 29, 81 et 1404.

¶ Bénédite, *Philæ*, p. 50 ; *cf.* de Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, p. 25.

** *Todtenbuch*, édition Naville, ch. 136 B.

†† Unas, 603–4, et Merenra, 306–9.

‡‡ Pepi I, 443–5.

transformée ensuite, dans une apostrophe aux quatre dieux des canopes, par l'omission de la lettre □ après le nom du roi,* ce qui donne le sens apparent de : amène ceci, c'est-à-dire alors les agrès, au roi et à la barque ; Merenra a : amène au roi ceci pour la barque, .†)

Quoiqu'il en soit de ces deux textes, le début du chapitre de la barque a été compris ici dans le sens suivant : "amène-moi ceci, la barque, amène-moi Horus à son œil, que j'apporte," bien que, aux pyramides, un début analogue n'ait pas le pronom de la première personne (qui à la vérité n'y est pas toujours exprimé, Pepi II, 864–7) ; "O batelier, , etc.,‡ amène ceci pour Horus, (j' ?)amène son œil."

En somme, le sens général n'a rien d'embarrassant : il s'agit de faire venir outre la barque l'œil sacré, que l'officiant apporte à Aken. Quant à la barque, l'officiant n'amène rien ; Mahaf lui dit : "qui te l'amènera avec moi ?" l. 443–4, et lui-même dit d'Aken : "il m'amènera la réunion avec Khnemu dans la barque," l. 435.

II. Ligne 426.—A , B et C , D . C'est le Charon égyptien, qu'on appelait aussi Herfhaf, c'est à-dire, Sa-face-est-derrière-lui. La plus vieille rédaction du chapitre des Pêcheurs, au *Todtenbuch*, le désigne d'abord par le premier nom, puis par le deuxième, dans la répétition d'une même phrase.§ On lit également, aux pyramides : "éveille-toi en paix, , en paix, , en paix, batelier du ciel, en paix, batelier de Nut, en paix, batelier des dieux, en paix !"‖ Une autre formule réunit les deux noms, , dans Pepi I, 443, et Pepi II, 1129–30, tandisque Merenra, 549, a seulement . Dans Unas et Merenra, le dieu est dit Face-en-avant-face-en-arrière, (dans l'original ce signe est le profil entier)

* *Cf.* Pepi II, 1129-1132. † 550–2.
‡ Merenra, 290–1, Pepi I, 183, et Pepi II, 896.
§ *Todtenbuch*, édition Naville, II, pl. 433 et 435.
‖ Unas, 489, et Merenra, 362.

.* C'est ainsi une sorte de personnage *bifrons*, comme il y en a dans l'Amtuat, manière sans doute d'indiquer que rien n'échappe à sa vue.† (Mahomet, d'après les légendes, avait de même la faculté de voir devant et derrière lui.)

Les pyramides donnent à ce dieu les titres de ‡ ou , § "batelier du lac de Kha," de , "taureau des dieux," ‖ et de , "portier d'Osiris." ¶

Au *Todtenbuch*, le chapitre des Pêcheurs l'appelle (et), "maître de son cœur," c'est-à-dire, probablement, "impitoyable." ** Le ch. 125, l. 25, fait de lui un des 42 juges infernaux, celui qui punit la luxure, sous le nom , "sorti de la *Tepeh-t T'a-t*," c'est-à-dire, sorti du Charonium de Memphis: une variante donne , "sorti de sa caverne." †† Il a dans ce chapitre, au papyrus de Sutimès, une tête de serpent tournée en arrière pour figurer son nom. (Le batelier du ch. 93 a aussi la tête tournée en arrière, comme les damnés que Dante a placés dans la fosse des devins.‡‡) Enfin, au ch. 110, d'après deux exemplaires thébains,§§ les Champs Elysées semblent bien être appelés "la Campagne de (Ma ou Herf) haf," et "la Campagne du Batelier." L'expression de "batelier de Sekhet-aru," et "de Sekhet-hetep," se trouve dans Pepi I, 400–5, et dans Merenra, 571–8.

* Merenra, 306, Unas, 603, et Pepi II, 1001–2.
† Cf. *Todtenbuch*, ch. 90, l. 2.
‡ Pepi I, 651 ; *cf.* Horhotep, 379.
§ Teta, 193–4, Pepi I, 677, et Pepi II, 1194. ‖ Pepi I, 176.
¶ Merenra, 589, et Pepi I, 411.
** *Todtenbuch*, édition Naville, II, pl. 433 et 435.
†† *Recueil de travaux*, XV, p. 18. ‡‡ Enfer, XX.
§§ *Todtenbuch*, édition Naville, II, pl. 258.

The next Meeting of the Society will be holden at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, the 2nd April, 1895.

The following Paper will be read :—

Rev. Dr. Löwy, "Pre-Mosaic Culture of the Hebrews," Part II.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

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LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.

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VOL. XVII. TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION.

Fourth Meeting, April 2nd, 1895.

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REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From F. D. Mocatta:—Sources of Spanish Jewish History. By Joseph Jacobs. 8vo. 1894.

From the Author, Prof. C. P. Tiele:—Western Asia according to the most recent Discoveries. Translated by Elizabeth J. Taylor.

From Prof. E. P. Tiele:—Overgedrukt uit den Feestbundel van Taal-, Letter-, Geschied. En Aardrijkskundige Bijdragen ter Gelegenheid van Zijn Tachtigsten Geboortedag. Tan Dr. P. J. Veth.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 5th March, and elected Members of the Society:—

S. Hirschfeld, Bream's Buildings, Fetter Lane, E.C.
Rev. J. J. C. Valpy, Elsing Rectory, E. Dereham.
David J. Waugh, 4, Florence Place, Falmouth.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 7th May, 1895:—

M. l'Abbé Poels, Lic. en Théol., Rue des Dominicains, Louvain.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

The General Theological Seminary, E. H. Jewett, Librarian, Chelsea Square, New York, U.S.A.

A Paper was read by Theo. G. Pinches on a "Tablet in the Babylonian Character, with Greek transcriptions of the era of Alexander." Mr. Pinches spoke of the pronunciation of Assyrian, bringing forward evidence of the existence of the so-called בגדכפת from the inscriptions, where such forms as *issi*, instead of *itti* (= *ithhi*), "with" are found, as well as from a tablet with a Greek transcription, numbered Sp. III, 245 + 81–7–6, 141; which gives φες for *peš*. The existence of *o*, both long and short, in places where *u* or *ŭ* is now universally read, was also referred to.

The Paper will be published in full in a future part of the *Proceedings*.

A Paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Löwy, on "The Primitive Culture of the Hebrews." Part II.

Remarks were added by the Rev. C. J. Ball, Dr. Gaster, W. G. Thorpe, F.S.A., and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. le Page Renouf.

CHAPTER CXVII.

Chapter whereby one taketh the blissful path at Restau. (1)

O paths which are high above me at Restau: I am the Girdled (2) and the Mighty one, coming forth triumphantly. (3)

I am come: I am come that I may firmly secure my suit in Abydos, (4) and that the path may be open to me at Restau.

Let my suit be made pleasant for me by Osiris.

I am he who produceth the water which balanceth his throne, and who maketh his way from the Great Valley. (5)

Let the path be made for me; for behold I am *N* the triumphant. (6)

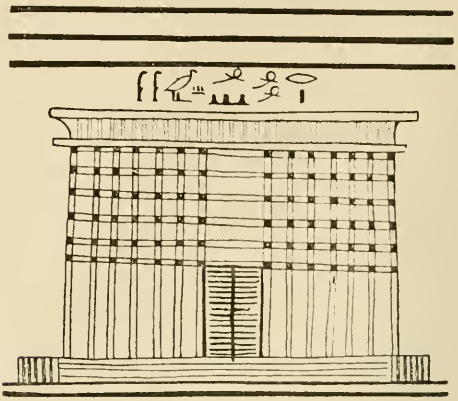
[Osiris is made triumphant over his adversaries, and the Osiris *N* is made triumphant over his adversaries, and is as one of you, his patron (7) is the Lord of Eternity: he walketh even as ye walk, he standeth as ye stand, he speaketh as ye speak, before the great god, the Lord of Amenta.]

Notes.

1. This chapter and the following have reference to Restau, one of the Gates between the Netherworld and Heaven.

It is not mentioned in the most ancient recension of chapter 17 (from which my translation was taken), but in all the papyri of the eighteenth and later dynasties it is stated that Restau was a gate south of An-aaref and north of the "Domain ( ) of Osiris."

The papyrus of Ani has this picture of it,



but the most interesting representations of it are in the Dublin papyrus (*D. a*), where the Sun god is seen passing between the folding doors, and in the papyrus of Hunefer (*A. g*), where the doors are also open and the god is sitting between them. (*See* Plates VI, 11 and VII b.)

The name *Restau* (the feminine form is more frequent in later texts) signifies *Gate of the passages*. These are the passages guarded by the faithful attendants of Osiris, but armed with "hurtful fingers" against the adversaries of Rā, against whose onslaught the deceased prays Rā for protection in chapter 17.

A mystical interpretation will be found in chapter 119 and note.

2. *Girdled*, or *stoled*, . On the importance attached to this ritual investiture, the following references may (among many others) be useful: *Unas* 66, *Teta* 149, *Pepi* I, 395, *Merenrā* 190, *Todt.* 125 (rubric), 145, 25. The deceased prays (Chapter 82, 4) that he may be girt by the goddess Tait. A passage in *Todt.* 78, 26 (Turin text) would be of greater interest were it not an emendation of those who no longer understood the ancient text.

3. *Coming forth triumphantly*. This is the reading of the oldest authority (Nebseni), but the reading which has prevailed, not only here, but in Chapter 147, is "coming forth from the Crown," .

4. *That I may firmly secure my suit at Abydos.* The scholion on Chapter 17, referred to in note 1, states that the "place of Maāt is at Abydos." It is, of course, the mystical, not the geograpical, Abydos which is meant, and the *suit* (*res*) which has to be settled is the final judgment of the deceased.

5. The throne of Osiris in pictures of the Psychostasia (*see* Vignettes to Chapter 125) rests upon water, out of which there springs a lotus flower; and upon this flower stand the four children of Horus. In a passage of chapter 147, which is an adaptation of the present chapter, the deceased says *La*, "I am he whose stream is secret." And a Pyramid Text (*Merenrā*, 188, 193) after mention of the Great Valley and of the investiture proceeds, , "thy water, thy fresh current, is a great inundation proceeding from thee." Here the deceased is identified with the Nile and its inundation, as in Chapter 64 of the Book of the Dead.

6. The chapter ends here. The passage which follows in the translation is taken from the Paris papyrus *Pe*.

7. *Patron*, , a word supposed by some scholars to signify *uncle*. It occurs on funereal monuments among the designations of persons connected with the deceased, such as brother, sister, nurse. A man may have several bearing the designation, and they are not necessarily children of the same parents (*see e.g.*, Mariette, *Cat. d'Abydos*, p. 110, where a man has five *chenemesu*, who cannot all be brothers either of his father or his mother). The word occurs repeatedly in the Prisse papyrus. I am inclined to think it means the legal guardian of a minor.

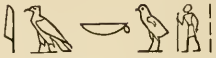
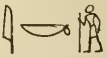
CHAPTER CXVIII.

Chapter whereby one arriveth at Restau.

I am he who is born in Restau.

Glory is given to me by those who are in their mummied forms in Pu, at the sanctuary of Osiris, whom the guards (1) receive at Restau when they conduct Osiris through the demesnes of Osiris.

Note.

(1) *Guards,*  *àaku,* the same personages as those mentioned in Chapter 28, note 2, and they seem to me to be identical with the "wardens of the passages," Chapter 17, "attendant upon Osiris." There is an imperfect tablet of the 12th dynasty at Hamamāt (*Denkm.*, II, 138, c) in which thirty  are mentioned along with the soldiers and other persons belonging to the expedition. The Pyramid Texts have the word , but apparently with a determinative of salutation, . (*Pepi* I, 160, *cf.* line 82.)

CHAPTER CXIX.

Chapter whereby one entereth or goeth forth from Restau.

I am the Mighty one, who createth his own light.

I come to thee, Osiris, and I worship thee.

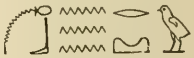
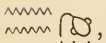
Pure are thine effluxes, (1) which flow from thee, (2) and which make thy name in Restau, when it hath passed there.

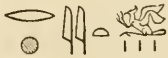
Hail to thee, Osiris, in thy power and thy might, who hast possession of Restau.

Osiris raiseth thee up in thy power and in thy might. Osiris raiseth thee up in thy power in Restau, and in thy might in Abydos, that thou mayest go round heaven with Rā, and survey the human race.*

One art thou and triumphant.

Notes.

1. *Pure are thine effluxes.* The true reading is   , a phrase which recurs in these texts. The suffix of the first person, which is sometimes added to the first word, would give the sense "thine effluxes are my purification." On the meaning of , *see* 65 B, note 4. At the end of Chapter 149

* The  , *Rechit,* mankind actually living, as distinguised from the dead or yet unborn.

the deceased prays, "let me be joined, let me be united with the sap which proceedeth from Osiris; let me not be parted from him."

2. *Which flow from thee.* , *sta,* which has here the same meaning as when the Nile is said (*Denkm.*, III, 13) *to flow into the Great Sea,* . The name of Restau is here derived from the effluxes *flowing* (*stau*) from Osiris.

The various meanings of , and of the Coptic ⲥⲉⲧ, are all traceable to the notion of *sending forth, throwing,* and are easily illustrated from the Greek. Thus ἐκβάλλειν is used for the discharge of a river into the sea; ἐκβολαὶ are 'passes, passages.' Doors are secured by pushing the bolts, μοχλοὺς ἐπιβάλλειν; they are opened by *shooting back the bolt,* (Mariette, *Abydos,* p. 58). is exactly the reverse of ἐπιβάλλειν σφραγῖδα. , , ⲥⲟⲧ, *stercus* is an ἐκβολή, *dejectio.* And , , ⲥⲁϯ, ⲥⲟⲧⲉ, βέλος, βολίς, , ⲥⲁϯ, *seminare,* and ever so many others are all determinations of one and the same concept.

In such passages as , , and the like, *sta* has the sense not of *towing,* but of πομπή, 'solemn *procession.*' It occurs even where towing is out of question, *e.g.*, in the march of military men (Tombs of Amenemheb and Pehsukher, *Miss. Arch. Française,* V, pp. 229 and 289).

And *string, rope* is connected with the notion of 'throwing' like our own *warp* with *werfen* (Goth. *vairp-an*) and ῥίπ-τω).

Chapter CXX is a repetition of Chapter XII.

Chapter CXXI is a repetition of Chapter XIII.

Chapter CXXII is a repetition of Chapter LVIII.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

Chapter (1) *whereby one entereth into the Great House.*

Hail to thee, O Tmu, I am Thoth.

I have equally balanced the Divine Pair, I have put a stop to their strife, I have ended their complaints.

I have rescued the Âtu from his backward course.

I have done what thou hast prescribed for him.

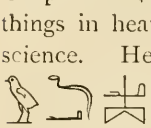
And I rest since then within my own Eye.

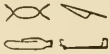
I am free from obstruction; and I come that thou mayest see me in the house where I repeat the ancient ordinances and words, as a guidance wherewith thou shalt guide posterity. (2)

Notes.

1. This chapter (which is repeated in Chapter 139) is like the repetition of an important passage in Chapter 110. But the differences are very considerable, and it is for criticism to decide the question of priority between the two recensions.

Whichever be the earlier recension, the present one is of very great interest and importance. It is found on two of the most carefully written papyri of the eighteenth dynasty. But the most interesting feature is the mythological allusion at this date (*at latest*) to an astronomical phenomenon, with reference to which later researches may furnish fresh evidence.

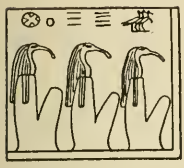
The speaker in this chapter is said (not merely implied, as in Chapter 110, *see* note 5) to be Thoth, who is the measurer of all things in heaven and earth, and the author and regulator of all science. He is here said to have established the *equilibrium*  between the Divine Pair, Horus and Sutu; that is Day and Night. Such an equilibrium, strictly speaking, never exists except at the *Equinoxes.*

But the most important passage is, "I have rescued the *Âtu* from his backward course." The *Âtu* is a mythological *fish*, who is represented as following the course of the Bark of Rā. The meaning of the name is, *the Cleaver, Divider, Cutter in two*  . It is one of the appellatives of the Sun-god, with reference to his path through the sky. But what is that solar phenomenon specially deserving to be characterised by its *motion backwards* ?

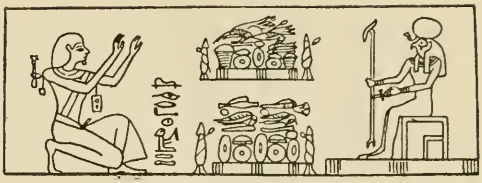
I do not think any astronomer would hesitate to answer, that *Precession* is meant. The cause of Precession could only be known to really scientific philosophers (which is out of question in this case), but the *phenomena* would necessarily be noted by those

PLATE XXX.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER CXIV
Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9900.



CHAPTER CXIX.
Papyrus, Leyden Museum, No. V.

CHAPTER CXVI. Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, No. III, 36.

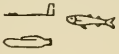
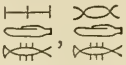
CHAPTER CXVII. Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9900.

CHAPTER CVII. Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9933.

CHAPTER CXIX.
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre. Cab. des Médailles.

CHAPTER CXXIII. Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9903.

who had important interests in keeping their calendar correct.* Even the Chinese, by dint of records and without any mathematics, came to infer the precession of the equinoxes; so did the Egyptians apparently at a very much earlier period; and Hipparchus, who has the credit of the discovery, may have learnt it from them.

Although  is commonly represented as a *fish*, the same name is given to a *Crustacean*  , whose organs of locomotion are specially adapted for backward motion.

"*Rescuing* the Âtu from its backward course" can mean nothing less than being able to *correct* or (in technical language) to *equate* the phenomena.

It might perhaps be suggested that the backward course here spoken of has reference to the year of 360 days, corrected at an early period by the addition of the five supplementary days. This would certainly have been a very probable explanation of the clause, but for the direct connection which this has with what precedes, concerning the equilibrium between Day and Night; that is, the Equinox.

2. *Posterity*, literally, *minores*. The word in the present context seems to have a different meaning from what it has in Chapter 110, where it is put in contrast with violent ones, against whom Thoth interposes his protection.

* "The amount of this motion by which the equinox travels backward, or retrogrades (as it is called), is *per annum* an extremely minute quantity, but which, by its continual accumulation from year to year, at last makes itself very palpable, and that in a way highly inconvenient to practical astronomers, by destroying, in the lapse of a moderate number of years, the arrangement of their catalogues of stars, and making it necessary to reconstruct them." Herschel, *Astronomy*, chapter 4.

THE NAME SHINAR, GENESIS XI, 2; AND THE MEANING OF זמרת IN GENESIS XLIII, 11.

By Rev. C. J. Ball.

It has long been recognized that Shinar, or rather Shingar, bears the same relation to the Babylonian Shumer (Shymer) as dingir does to dimmer, or dímer; that is to say, it is a dialectic variation of the same word. As to the origin and import of this name, when I wrote my paper last year on *Israel and Babylon* for these *Proceedings* (May, 1894), I had already guessed that it might be connected with gishimmar, the palm; Babylonia being *par excellence* the country of the palm (*see* Herodotus I, 193). Gishimmar, *i.e.*, gish shimmar, the *shimmar* tree, the palm, is one value of the ideogram , which was also read shanga (*see* my paper). This shanga may very well spring from an older shanga-r (*cf.* , read nangar and lamga). And shimmar implies a form shingar, as dingir implies dimmer.

Now the Babylonian shimmar, shímar, is obviously related to the Hebrew תָּמָר tāmār, date palm, תֹּמֶר tōmer, do., תִּמֹּרָה timmōrā, palmette (Ezek. xli, 18), the well-known Assyrian architectural ornament, on the one hand, and to the Arabic تمر tamr, dates, ثمر thamar, ثُمر thumar, and ثيمار thīmār, fruit, on the other. The meaning of shimmar or shímar thus appears to be fruit, especially dates; and gishimmar is *the* fruit tree, *i.e.*, the palm. The equivalences shimmar, shímar = thamar, thīmār = tāmār (timmōrā) are parallel to those seen in שבר = ثبر = תבר. And since the interchange of ד, ת, ז, is also a known phenomenon (*cf.* בדק and בתק with the Talmudic בזק), we may add that זמרת הארץ really does mean *fruit of the land*, although the Assyrian *zumru*, fruit (Norris; Dillmann) is a nonentity.

ON SOME BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN ALLITERATIVE TEXTS.—I.

By S. A. Strong.

(A.)

Of the following texts, all composed in the alliterative style, and all acrostics, the first is well known. Originally published by Mr. Pinches (*Texts*, p. 15), it has been translated in full by Professor Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 514); nevertheless, its obscurities are enough to explain and excuse the present application of the *secunda manus*. The text is a hymn of praise, composed by or for a king to celebrate the restoration of his city of Babylon and its temples, the renewal of the splendours of public worship, and the return of peace and prosperity. Unfortunately, the name of the king, with much else of interest and value, has been broken away, and there is nothing in the sonorous generalities that remain to point to one king more than to any other of those who, in the course of its long history, restored or may have restored, Babylon. However, the fact that the tablet was brought, not from Babylonia but from Assyria, might lead us to identify the king either with Esarhaddon or with Aššurbanipal. The former, at the close of his reign, saw that the only way to keep the empire together was to shift the centre of gravity to its old position in Babylon, and in one of the documents of this period and tendency (*Cylinder*, 81–6–7, 209) he describes himself in terms that might almost have been borrowed from our text, as *êpiš Ésagila u Bâbili* . . . . . *mušaklil êšrîti u maḫazu mukîn sattukku*. Aššurbanipal followed, for a time at least, in the same path, and he repeats the same strain, so that, although, if we may judge by the event, he seems to have lacked either the will or the power to carry out the great political scheme of his father, it is perfectly possible that he may be the king referred to here.

In dealing with the remarkable text (K 1285) in which Aššurbanipal cries to Nebo *de profundis*, and is answered and consoled by the god, we pointed out that certain marked peculiarities of style

might be "explained as a rhythmical device of the composer."* But what in that case suggested itself as a bare possibility, in the present case declares itself almost as a certainty. The ending – ◡ ⏓ | ◡ – ◡ | , as, to take the simplest examples, in *Êsagî* | *la ṣîri ; liššakin* | *nigutu ; -taṭṭala* | *zimêšu ; muddišu* | *parakki*, recurs far too frequently to be explained as the effect of chance ; that is to say, these lines have *metrical endings*, and if these, then doubtless also the rest, of which the cadence is to our ears—imperfectly attuned as yet to "Babylonian numbers"—less obviously metrical. The same holds good of the construction and scansion of the whole line. It is impossible not to recognise—in fact to hear—one and the same measure in the five following lines :—

ar rubi-î Marduk libittašu liktarrab
arba-' kibrâti littaṭṭala zimêšu
baṭluti sattukkišu ukinnu kî maḫrati
zirušu lirappišma lišam'ida nannabšu
kirušu â ibbaši likšuda niṣmatsu,

so that without going beyond the evidence of the text itself, we should be justified in concluding that it was composed in a metre of which these lines show the simplest type.

Now take the following lines from a text which we shall consider hereafter (K 3452) :—

ulala	*ibbatu*	*iṭarrisu*	*lali-î*
u iaši	*itnušu*	*bêl pani*	*ridannu*
šarḫiš	*ša šari-i*	*idibbubu*	*dumḳišu*
šarrakiš	*ilammanu*	*dunnamâ*	*amêlu*
šarkušu	*nullatum*	*iḳappudušu*	*nirti*
rigmu	*ul iššapu*	*iššapil*	*atmûa*
riši-ia	*ul ullu*	*ḳaḳḳari*	*anaṭṭal.*

We have chosen them for their simplicity, which is such as to make it hardly necessary to point out that they are in the same metre as the other group ; but the division into four columns, made, as we shall see, throughout by the Babylonian scribe, adds certainty to what we should anyhow have inferred, viz., that the whole text was composed in metre, and that the basis of that metre is *tetrameter*. The hymn to Nanâ, quoted below (K 3600), is written in the same

* *Transactions of the Ninth Oriental Congress*, II, p. 200.

metre, and the composer of K 1285 makes occasional use of tetrameters, *e.g.*, in such cases as

*šêpâka la issanammâ la inarruda ḳâtâka**
šimtaka ša abnûni tattanaḫḫaranni
addanika Nabû la tamaššaranni iâši.

The acrostic might be restored conjecturally in the metre of the text, thus :—

ina arba' kibrâti lušarriḫu zikiršú.

DT. 83.

Obverse.

na . . . .
na-ra-ru
na-an-na-ri
na-pa-ḫi-ru nu-ur ša-ma-mi . . . . . .

5. ar-ḫu ù šat-tu lik-tar-ra-bu Ê-sag-ila ṣi-i-ri
ar ru-bi-î Marduk li-bit-ta-šu lik-tar-rab
ar-aḥ šá ba-la-ṭi i-sin-ni a-ki-ti liš-ša-kin ni-gu-tú
ar-ba-' kib-ra-a-ti lit-ta-aṭ-ṭa-la zi-mê-šu
ar ri-'-i za-ni-ni-šu ba-laṭ ṭu-ub lib-bi liš-tar-raḳ

10. ba-ši-mu uṣûrat êš-ri-î-ti mu-ud-di-šu pa-rak-ki
Bâ-bi-lu âl kiš-šú-ti ú-šak-li-la ma-ḫa-za-šu raba-a
ba-ša-a-ti ud-di-ša ê-kur (mêš)-šu rab-ba-a-ti
ba-aṭ-lu-ti sat-tuk-ki-šu ú-kin-nu ki-i maḫ-ra-a-ti
ba-ru-ut šú-lum u purussu i-pu-lu uš . . . . . ú-šu

15. . . . . Bâbilu ma-ḫa-za ṣi-i-ru ša . . . . . .
. . . . . ṣu-bat nam-ri-ir . . . . . .

Reverse.

. . . . . Marduk . . . .
. . . pi-i ḳarnâti li-ša-aš-kin . . . . . .
zi-kir . . . . [ki]-ma lal-la-ri êli ab-ra-a-ti li-ša-lu
Zi-ir-pa-ni-tum ru-ba-tum ṣir-tum lik-tar-ra-ba šarru-us-su
5. zi-ru-šu li-rap-piš-ma li-šam-'-i-da na-an-nab-šu

kir-ú-šú a-a ib-ba-ši li-ik-šú-da ni-iṣ-mat-su

* I hope to return to this question of metre on a subsequent occasion.

ḳir-ri-î dum-ḳi u taš-mê-ê li-tap-pa-lu-uš û-mi-šam
kir-rit šú-lum u ḫu-ud lib-bi li-pu-ša ana ki-rib Bâbili ([illegible])
kir-bi ê-kur(mêš)-šu šal-meš lit-tal-lak-ma li-šal-lim-ma par-ṣi-šu
10. kir-bi Bâ-bi-lim ṭa-a-bi êl-ṣi-iš liš-tak-ka-na ḫi-du-tú

šú-uš-ḳu-us-su ina (iṣ) zaḳ-ḳal li-iz-za-mir-ma ta-nit-ta-šu li-i-ni
šú-pu-ú-ti ma-ḫa-zi-šu li-ša-az-ni-na šaman (iṣ) riš-ti
šú-tum-mê ê-kur-ri-šu li-mal-la-a bušû la ni-bi a-ḳar-tú
šú-ut ip-šê-tu-šu-nu us-su . . . . . .
15. šú-um šar-ru . . . . . .

Translation.

Obverse.

5. *Month and year may Êsagila the lofty be blessed!*
May the son of the great one, Marduk, its brick-work bless!
In the month of life at the New Year's feast may rejoicing be made!
May the four quarters look upon its form!
To the son of the shepherd, its supporter, may life, health of body be given!

---

10. *Fashioning the carved work of the shrines, renewing the sanctuaries,*
Babylon, the town of strength, he completed as his great city;
Those that (already) existed he restored, even its great temples;
Its lapsed daily sacrifices he established as before;
The decree of peace and judgment he shall render . . . . . .

---

15. . . . . *Babylon, the lofty city . . . . . .*
. . . . . *the garment of brilliance . . . . . .*

Reverse.

. . . . . .
3. (*His*) *fame, like the* lallaru, *over the people may he cause to rise!*
May Zirpanit, the high princess, bless his royalty!
5. *His seed may she increase, may she multiply his offspring!*

His grief, it shall not be; may he quench the thirst of his desire!
With acclamations of goodwill and submission may he be greeted daily!

Rejoicings of peace and gladness of heart may he make within Babylon!

Within his temples peacefully may he walk, and cause his commands to be executed!

10. *In the midst of Babylon the good may joy be established with shouting!*

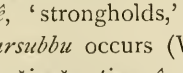
May its height be hymned with the zakkal, *and may he sing of its loftiness!*

May he cause the vats of his city to flow with oil of prime wood!

The granaries of his temples may he fill with substance without number, precious!

. . . . . .

Notes.

6. *ar*, construct from *âru* or *aiarum;* equivalent to *mâru*, 'child,' *see* Delitzsch, *Woerterbuch*, p. 362. With *ar rubî cf.* the full title of Marduk, *aplu rištû ša Êa*, as well as the phrase *apil Êšarra* applied to Ninib as, *e.g.*, in the following invocation (K 3351, ll. 12–20):—*bê-lum ra-aš-bu ša ina pu-ḫur ilâni rabûti šin-na-as-su la ib-ba-šu-u | i-na bu-ru-mi êllûti ša-ru-uḫ ta-lu-uk-šu | i-na ê-kur bît taḳ-na-a-ti ša-ḳu-ú par-ṣu-ú-šu | i-na im-ḫul-lu i-nam-bu-ṭu kakkî-šu | i-na nab-li-šú ú-tab-ba-tu mâtâti mar-ṣu-ti | šá tam-tim gal-la-ti i-sa-am-bu-' ru-ub-bu-ša | apil É-šar-ra zi-kir-šu ḳar-rad ilâni ni-bit-su | ul-tu a-šur-rak-ka bê-lum ilâni šú-ut da-ad-mê | i-na pa-an ḳaš-ti-šú iz-zi-ti im-mê-du ša-ma-mi.* Prof. Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 514) reads *aršubbê*, 'strongholds,' from *rašabu.* The word  *arsubbu* occurs (W.A.I. V, 26, 23*f*); but, in conjunction with *pissu*, *šigušu*, *tinanû*, etc., on a list of different kinds of wood or wooden objects. Delitzsch, on the contrary, suggests (*Handwoerterbuch*, p. 124) that *ar* may be the construct of a word *aru*, meaning 'abode.'

9. *ri'i*, used of the king, as often. *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Sargon, K 3600,*

* A hymn addressed to the goddess Nanâ, *ḫi-rat* (*ilu*) *Mu-'u-a-ti. Cf. rev.* ll. 12–28:—*mu-ša-aš-ra-a-at ka-ti-î mu-na-ḫi-ša-at la-ab-ni | ši-ma-a kib-ra-a-ti da-lil šar-ra-ti* (*ilu*) *Na-na-a | šur-ri-ḫa ba-ni-i-tu šur-ba-a ru-ṣu-un-tu | ul-la-a ša-ru-uḫ-tu kit-ra-ba ga-šir-tu | ba-a-lum ur-pi-tu irib* ( ) *tam-di ra-ši-ma | nu-ḫi ma-rat* (*ilu*) *Sin ri-mê-i šub-tuk-ki | kur-bi ana Šar-gi-na ṣa-bit ḳa-ni-ki | ri-'-ú* (*mâtu*) *Aššur* (*ki*) *a-lik ar-ki-î-ki | ba-laṭ û-mê arkûti ši-i-mê ši-ma-ki | iš-di kussî-šu ki-in-ni šul-bi-ri palî-*[*šu*] *| šul-li-mê mur-ni-is-ḳi ṣi-in-da-at*

rev., l. 19. Delitzsch (*l.c.*, p. 94) explains *ar ri'i* as a case of assimilation, *ar* being for *an*, that is, the preposition *ana*.

14. *barût*, 'decision,' from the root *barû*, like, *e.g.*, *kamûtu*, from *kamû*.

Reverse.

2. *Cf.* K. 133, *rev.*, l. 21 (Haupt., *A.S.K.T.*, p. 81), *ina birišunu kima rîmê rabî ḳarnâšu ittanašši.*

3. *Cf.* W.A.I. IV, 27, 5, 17, *iṣṣuru ina abrišu ušêllû.* For *lallaru* as the name of a bird, *see*, *e.g.*, W.A.I. IV, 54, 21*a*, with Zimmern's note (*Busspsalmen*, pp. 94 and 95), and for the meaning of *abrâti*, *cf.* the following metrical fragment of a hymn to Ištar (K. 11152):—*in-nin-na-at ilâni šú-tu-ḳa-at bê-li-î-ti* | *Ištar šur-bu-tum ê-til-lit âḫî-ša* | *tu-am-ti* (*ilu*) *Šamši da-i-na-at kib-ra-a-ti* | *ru-ba-tum šá it-ti* (*ilu*) *Bêli šit-lu-ṭa-at ṭa-ba-an* | *ga-bu-tum* * *šá ša-ru-ru-ša uš-nam-ma-ru ik-li-ti* | *it-tum damiḳ-tum ša ka-lu ab-ra-a-ti* | *êl-li-tum Ištar kakkabâni nûr ša-ma-mi* | *šê-ê-ru šá ur-ḫa-ti ú-pat-tu-u ki-ma* ⟞ ⟝ | *ḫi-ti kib-rat ar-ba-'-i tê-til-li-ma* | *ṣal-mat ḳaḳḳadu tê-ri-'-i kima i-la-a-ti* | *ên-šá-am a-na dan-ni tê-li-'-i i-ra-*[*at?*] † | *ši-mat la dum-ḳi du-mu-ḳu ba-a-ši it-ti-ki* | *kaš-da-a-ti šá muš-ba*(?)*-i-ki šú-tu-rum šú-mê . . . . . etc.*

Delitzsch (*l.c.*, p. 10) reads *li-ša-ṭib*, and explains the whole line as follows:—*seinen namen gleich Honig mache er den Menschen wohlgefällig.*

6. *kiru* from *kirû*, like *nibu* from *nabû*. *Cf.* Chald. כרא *doluit.* That the character 𒀀 in ni-iṣ-𒀀 should be read *mat* and not *sat* is clear from the passage of Samsu-iluna, published by Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, p. 143, ll. 14 and 15):—*ni-iṣ-ma-at libbiia kima ili kašadam.* The root of the word seems to be צמא *sitivit*, to which it bears the same relation as *nibrêtu*, 'hunger,' to ברא *comedit.* *niṣmâtu* must therefore mean originally 'thirst,' and then 'desire, aspiration,' as here and in the passage just quoted. The word *kûru* in such phrases as *ina kûri nissati urra u mûša anassus*

---

ni-ri-[*šu*] | *lip-tu-nu šur-ru-ú šú-us-si-i zu-um-ru-šu* | *ṣi-in-nu ê-ri-bu mu-ḫal-liḳ aš-na-*[*an*] | *lim-nu zi-ir-zi-ru mu-ub-bil ṣip-pa-a-ti* | *pa-ri-su sat-tuk-ki šá ili u* (*ilu*) *Iš-ta-ri* | *šê-mê-ê-ki* (*ilu*) *Bêlu ma-gir-ki* (*ilu*) *Tu-tu* | *i-na ḳi-bî-ti-ki li-im-ma-ni za-ḳi-ḳi-eš* . . . . . etc.

* *Cf.* Heb. גבה, *altus fuit.*

† The last character is almost entirely obliterated. *iru*, of which *irat* would be the feminine, like *ilat*, occurs as an equivalent of *gašru*.

(Pinches, *Texts*, p. 18, l. 12), and *ḳulu kûru êlišu ittaškan* (W.A.I. IV, 7, 4*a*) appears to be connected not with our root *kirû*, but with a root corresponding to Heb. כור *fodit, perfodit.* On the other hand, *see* Zimmern, *B.P.*, p. 92, *note.*

7. *ḳirrî*, from קרא. *Cf.* Prov. xx, 6, רב־אדם יקרא איש חסדו.

8. *kirrit*, probably from a root corresponding to Heb. כרר *saltavit, exultavit. Cf.* Esarhaddon, *Cylinder A*, VI, 34. "The magnates and people of my country with feasting and rejoicing (*iṇa takultê* u kirîti*) . . . . . therein I caused to sit down," etc.

11. Mention is made of *zaḳḳal* in a fragmentary list of woods or of wooden objects (W.A.I. II, 40, 54*a*), as follows:—*iṣ zaḳ-ḳal* [illegible] | *i-šar* . . . . . With *lizzamir* compare Heb. זמר, *cecinit ad citharæ modos. Zaḳḳal* will therefore denote a musical instrument made of the wood so-called.

lini, from the root corresponding to Heb. עכה *cantavit*, like *ili* from עלה.

12. *šupûti*, 'vats,' from a root seen in Heb. שׁפע, *affluxit, abundavit. Cf.* the phrase שְׁפֻעַת־מים Job xxii, 11. The forms *šappu, šappatum*, with a similar meaning (*see* Zehnpfund in Delitzsch's *Beiträge*, I, 533), are perhaps related to *šupû* as *rabbu* to *rubû.*

13. *šutummê.* For the meaning, *see* Zehnpfund, *l.c.*, p. 531.

(B.)

The following text is numbered 8204 in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum. It is in the same metre as that which we have just considered, except that in the third paragraph of the obverse the final long syllable gives a somewhat different ring to the lines. Of the first paragraph only a fragment has been preserved, as follows:—

ú . . . .
ú . . . . .
ú-ḫa-ak-kam ip-šit . . . . .
ú-ta-ṣal ra-ma-ni lib-bi ú-ša-aṣ-ra-ḫa . . . . .
ú-na-ḫa-aṣ ṣur-ri ṣir-ḫi-iš šú-um-ú † . . . . . .

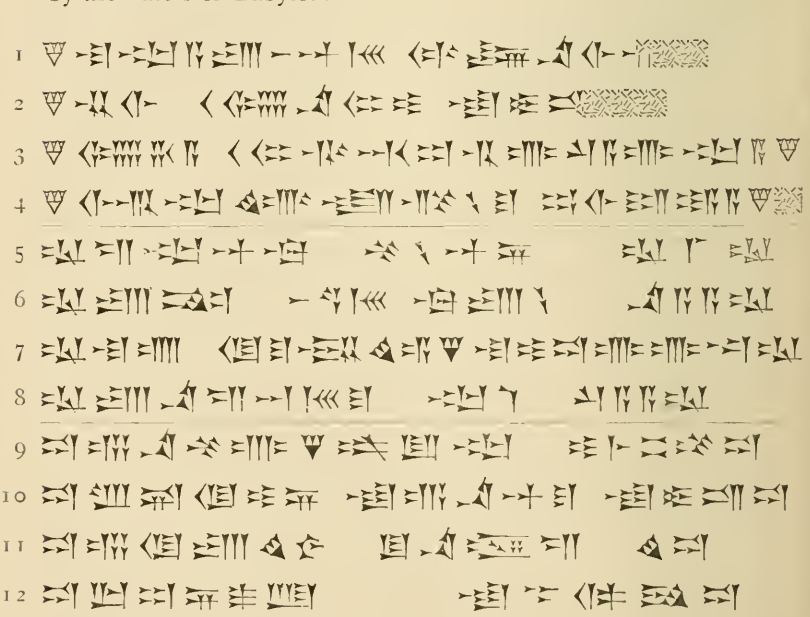
* Not *tazirtê. Cf. taluku* from *alâku* and *ukultu*, 'food.'

† *útaṣal*, II 2 from אצל, like *utasar* from אסר. *únaḫaṣ*, from a root *naḥâṣu*; *cf.* Arab. نَحَصَ, *macie confectus fuit.*

From the reverse everything has been obliterated except the first few syllables in each paragraph, as, *e.g.*, in par. 1, *du-uu-nu* . . . . | *du-ub-bu u* . . . . | *du-ú-ra* . . . . | *du-muḳ ab-ra-a-ti* . . . . ; but these enable us to restore the acrostic, which, as the lines begin and end with the same syllable, runs along each side of the text,* thus :—

ú-ša-ab-du-du ma-ru-uš-tu, "It shall cause him to pity the distress."

It is needless to dwell upon the meaning of this remarkable fragment, for it strikes one of the most familiar, as it is one of the deepest, chords in the Hebrew lyre. It is a cry for help on the part of one who has been pierced by "the sting of death," whose affliction is felt to be the effect of sin. There can be nothing greater than the contrast between this and the preceding text. We pass immediately from one extreme to the other of the compass of sacred song, from the superb exultation of *Domine, in virtute tua* to the bottomless humiliation of *Deus, deus meus.* Indeed it would seem as if the sweet singers of "the songs of the second temple" may have learnt more than has hitherto been suspected על־נהרות בבל, "by the waters of Babylon."



* *Cf.* Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 905, where pars. 3 and 4 are transcribed.

Transcription.

ša la-ka-a-ta ina ilâni ul in-na-ši [ri-ša]
ša ên-ši u dun-na-mi-i tu-kân iš-[du] . . . . .
ša dun-ḫa-a u mi-ik-ti ab-bak ú-ḳa-a-ú ka-a-ša
4. ša-ar-ka ṭâbu li-zi-ḳam-ma nap-ši-ra ia-a-ša

---

al-si-ka Nabû mu-gur-an-ni al-la-al
al-ta-pil ina ṣâbî aḳ-ta-ḳur na-a-a-al
al-la-pit ki-ma maḫ-ḫi-î ša la i-du-ú ú-ba-al
8. al-ta-na-si ilâni-ma ka-liš ḳa-a-a-al

---

du-un-na-mu-ú ša tak-lu-ka i-šib-bi duḫ-du
du-ru-uš ki-i-ni tu-dan-na-an-ma tu-kân iš-du
du-un-ḳi ta-ṭi-rak-ku na-as-si ḫi-du
12. du-ur ab-ni aš-ṭu tu-tar ṭi-id-du

Translation.

Whom thou castest down among the gods, [his head] is not raised:
Of the weak and the despised thou establishest the foundation:
For humility and vileness I bring, I wait for thee:
4. *May thy good wind blow, make me to be released!*

I cry to thee, Nebo! Have mercy upon me, thou mighty one!
I am laid low among the people, on the ground I lie:
I am compassed about like a sorcerer, who understands not to remove the spell:
8. *I call upon the gods, and with nothing but crying.*

The despised one who trusts in thee, the flood overwhelms [him]:
The sure base thou strengthenest, and thou establishest the foundation:
With favour thou coverest me, do thou take away sin!
12. *A wall of stone, [though] strong, thou turnest to mire and clay.*

Notes.

1. *lakâta.* *Cf.* Arab. لكأ as in لكأه, 'he prostrated him.'

2. *dunnamû.* *Cf.* the terms in which Sennacherib describes the Chaldean adventurer Šuzubu (*Cylinder* V, 8 and 9): *dunnamû ša la iśû birki*, 'a man of low origin without fortune' (Heb. בְּרָכָה). For

the root of *dunnamû*, *cf.* Arab. دنم, which in the second form is said to have the meaning 'to be vile, contemptible,' and for the meaning *cf.* K. 3312, Col. III, 20, *ana murri pîšu dunnamû išassika*, "for the food of his mouth (*cf.* Heb. מרא) the weak cries to thee."

3. *dunḫâ*. *Cf.* Arab. دنخ (II), 'to bend the neck, humble oneself.'

mikti. From a root corresponding to Heb. מוּךְ *contabescere*, used metaphorically, *e.g.*, in Lev. xxv, 25, כי־ימוּךְ אחיך, "If thy brother be waxen poor." With the whole phrase *cf.* W.A.I. IV, 10, 44*b*, *ḫablatûa* (𒀭 𒀭 𒀭) *ma'dâti kima ṣubati šuḫuṭ*, "tear asunder my many wickednesses like a garment." Zimmern (*Buss-psalmen*, p. 73) shows by a comparison of W.A.I. II, 36, 5*gh* with V, 21, 21–22*ab*, that the group 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 is equivalent to 𒀭-*latu* and *tuššu*, and we learn from W.A.I. II, 35, 47*gh*, that one of the equivalents of *tuššu* is *miktum*.

4. *šârka ṭâbu*. In the story of the creation, Marduk appears as *ilu šâri ṭâbi bêl tašmê u magâri* (Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*, p. 95, *d.*, l. 6).

5. *allal*. For this epithet as applied to various gods, *see* Delitzsch, *Woerterbuch*, p. 488, s.v. *allallu*; and *cf.* the following incantation to the fire-god (K. 2455, *Rev.*, ll. 11–23):—

šiptu 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 *šar-ḫu bu-kur* (*ilu*) *A-nim*
i-lit-ti êllû-tim ša-ḳu-tum (*ilu*) *Ša-la-aš*
šar-ḫu id-di-šú-ú zik-ri ilâni ka-a-a-n[*u*]
na-din nin-da-bi-î ana ilâni (*ilu*) *Igigi*
ša-kin na-mir-ti a-na (*ilu*) *A-nun-na-ki ilâni rabûti*
iz-zu 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 *muš-ḫar-miṭ a-pi*
𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 *al-la-lu-ú mu-ab-bit iṣî* (𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭) *u abnî*
ḳa-mu-ú lim-nû-ti zêr kaššapi u kaššapti
[𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭]
mu-ḫal-liḳ rag-gi zêr kaššapi u kaššapti
ina û-mi an-ni-i ina di-ni-ia i-ziz-za-am-ma
ê-piš bar-ti tê-na-na-a ku-šu-ud lim-nu
kima ṣalmânu (𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭) *an-nu-ti i-ḫu-lu i-zu-bu u it-ta-at-tu-ku**
kaššapu u kaššaptu li-ḫu-lu li-zu-bu u lit-ta-at-tu-ku.

6. *aḳtaḳur*. "I am on the ground," from the root of *ḳaḳḳaru*.

* These lines are important as showing that the melting of waxen images was practised by the Assyrians as a magical rite.

7. *maḫḫû* occurs as the equivalent of *êššêpû*, 'sorcerer,' in W.A.I. II, 51, 48, and this furnishes the clue to the meaning of such passages as, *e.g.*, W.A.I. III, 15, 21, col. i, *tib taḫaziia danni êmuruma êmû maḫ-ḫu-taš*, "the approach of my strong battle they saw, and became as if bewitched, under a spell." In the present case the difficulty lies in *ubâl*, which is clearly the object of *idû*. The allusion seems to be to a sorcerer whose activity is confined and crippled by the effect of some incantation—as, for instance *kima ṣalmânu annûti*, etc.—and he does not know how to remove the spell. We might therefore connect *ubâl* with *abâlu*, "to carry away," as *ubânu* with *abânu*, and *cf.* W.A.I. IV, 59, 14*b*, *mimma tê-pu-šá tu-uš-tê-pi-šá lu-bil šâru*.

(C.)

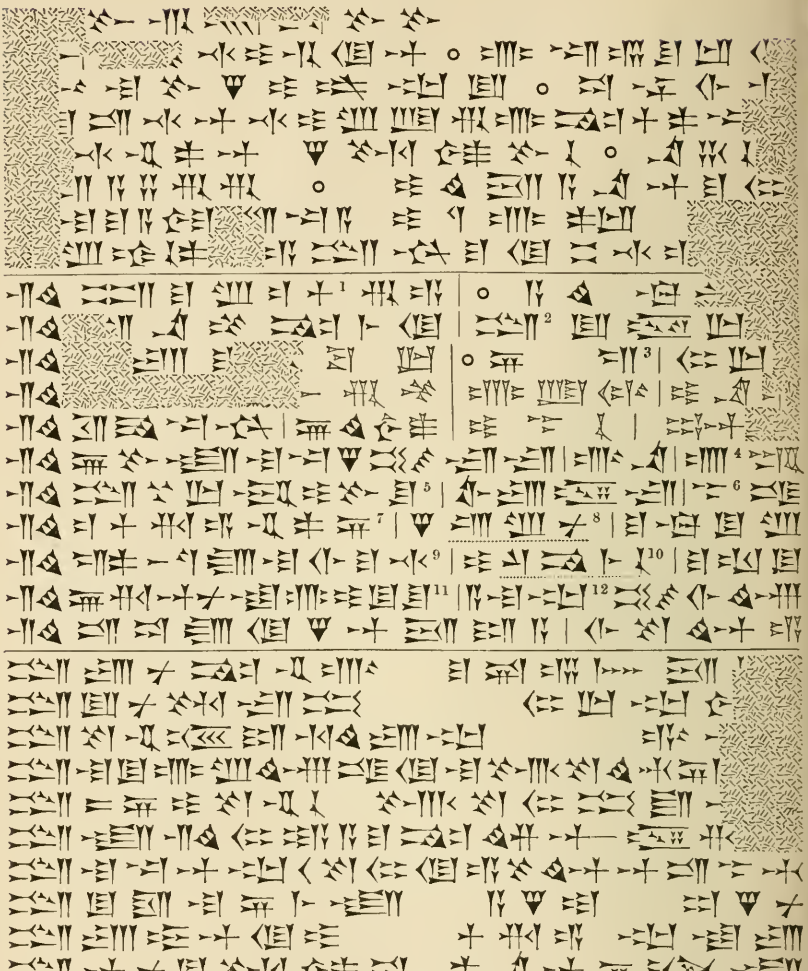
Of the group that follows, I propose to resume the discussion in a future number of our *Proceedings*. Meanwhile, the readings I have proposed must in many cases be regarded as provisional. K 9290 and K 3452 agree closely, so far as they can be compared, and are probably duplicates;* but the important tablet Sp II, 265, though it takes up and completes the burden of the other two, is apparently an independent, though a similar, document.†

* A few lines have been restored from the fragments 81, 2-1, 63 and 81, 2-1, 90.

† The obverse of Sp II, 265, has been much mutilated, but the acrostic began with *a-na-ku*. The endings of a few of these lines in the *a* stanza can be restored from what remains of the first column of K. 8463. My thanks are due to Mr Pinches, who not only called my attention to this tablet in the first instance (in 1892), but most kindly placed at my disposal copies of parts of these texts made by himself several years ago.

K. 9290.—Column I.

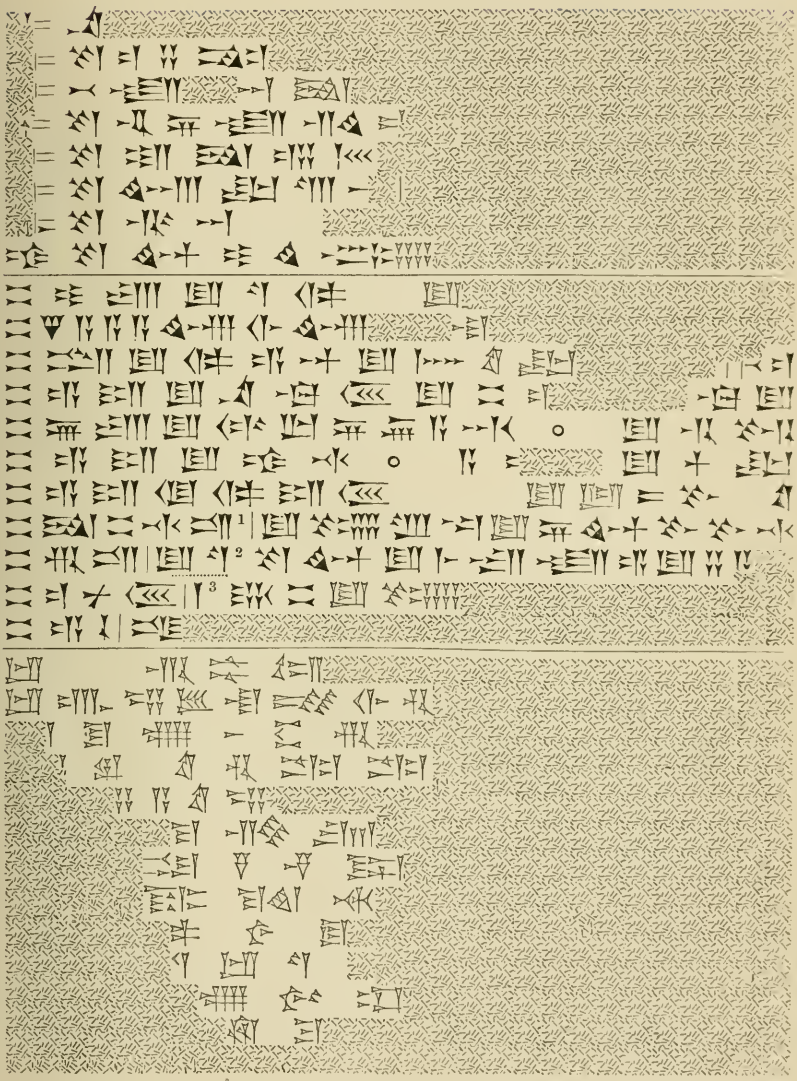
81, 2–1, 63.



[1] [illegible]. [2] [illegible]. [3] [illegible]. [4] [illegible]. [5] [illegible]. [6] [illegible]. [7] [illegible]. [8] [illegible]. [9] [illegible]. [10] [illegible]. [11] [illegible]. [12] [illegible].

K. 9290.—Column II.

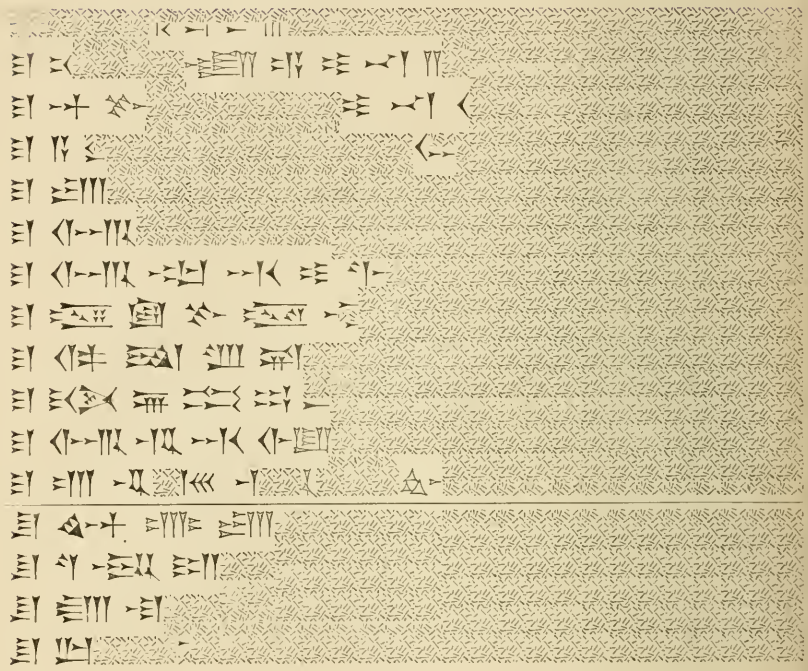
81, 2-1, 90.



[1] . [2] . [3] .

K. 9290.—Reverse.*

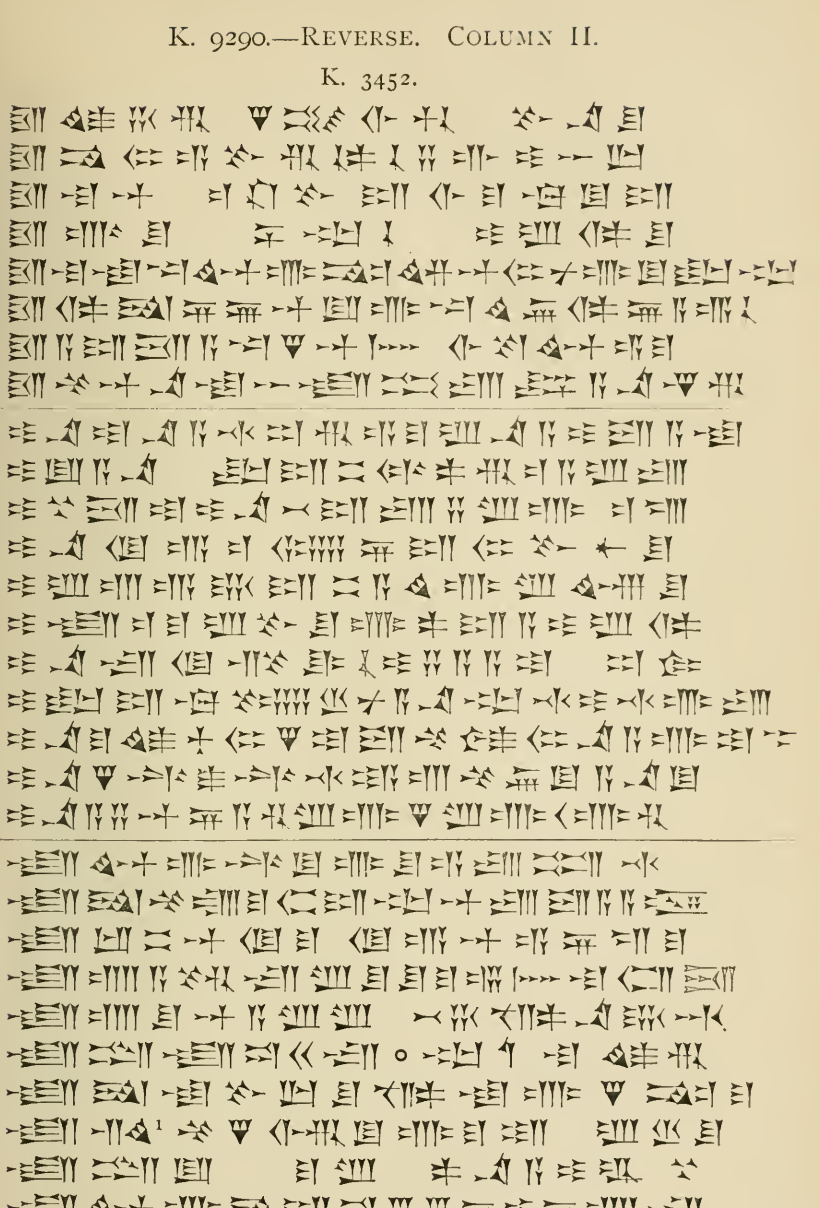
Column I.



* K. 8491 is a fragment of an alliterative text bearing the remains of a stanza in *ma*, followed by those of another in *aš*. *Cf.* ll. 5–8 :—*ma-'-du a-šú-ú êdinu ša ú . . . .* | *ma-an-nu i-na bi-ri-šu-nu ir-ta-ši* | *ma-ra u mar-tum lu-ba-'-[u] . . . .* | *ma-la ut-tu-ú a-a i-zi-ba lu . . . .*

K. 9290.—Reverse. Column II.

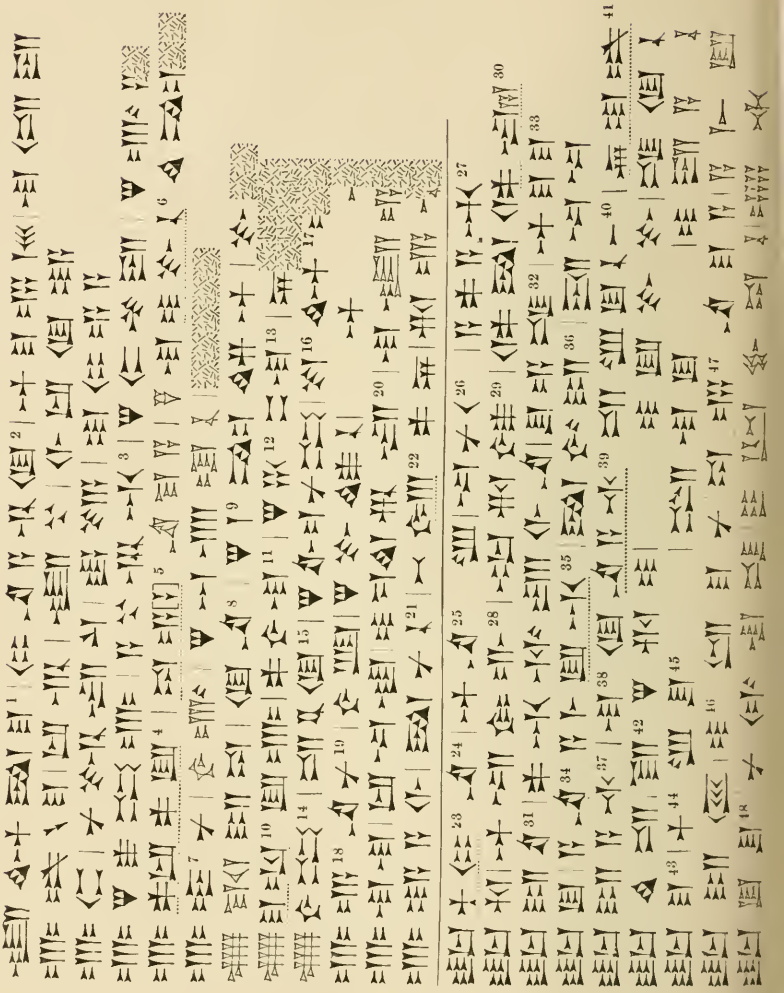
K. 3452.

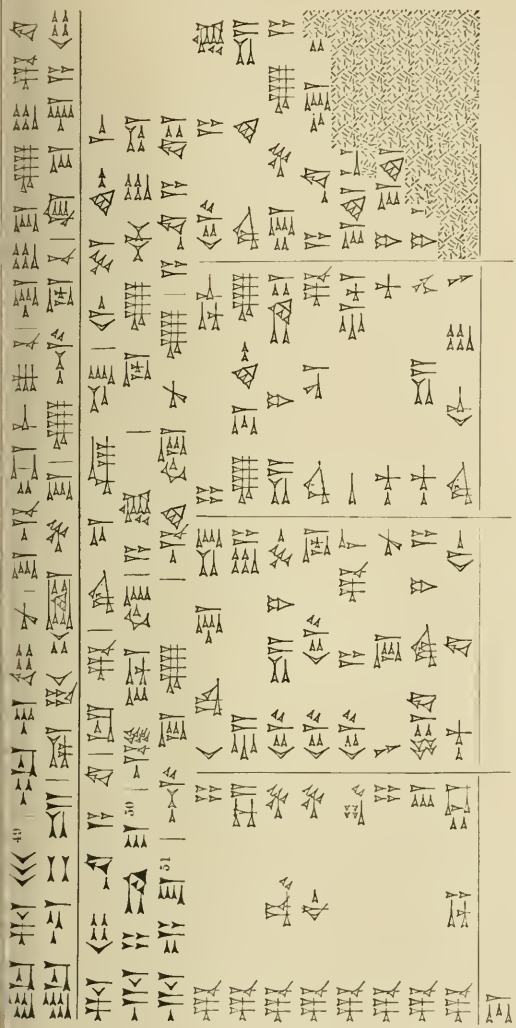


[1] [illegible].

K. 3452. K. 9290.

Sp II., 265. Reverse.





Transliteration.

. . . . . ti i-bak-ki ilu ú-zu-un-šú ib-ši (?) . . . . .
. . . . . la-bu ša i-tak-ka-lu du-muḳ ši . . . . .
3. . . . . ki (?)-iš-ti ilu ti-i-ru ṭu-ri ú-bil maš-pa-su (?)
. . . . . ti bêlu pa-an . . . . . ša uṣ-ṣu-pu-šu na-ḫa-šu . . . . . .
. . . . . a ṣa-ri-ri i-ḫi-ṭa a-na (ilu) Ma-mi
6. . . . . ka]-la-ma-a mimma . . . . . [ra ?]-ba-a i-liš ú-šab-[šû] . . . . .
. . . . . i]-ru-ub di . . . . . ê il-tim-ma ḳi-bi-ti . . . . .

---

gi-šim-ma-ru (iṣ) maš[1]-ri-î a-ḫi ak-mu (?)
9. gi-mil (?) na-ḳab nê-mê-ḳi il[2]-lu uk-taš-(šad ?)
gi . . . . . ta-ma . . . . . ma-lik ni-si[3] mi-lik
gi . . . . . ri-mu šam-ṭu ul i-na . . . . .
12. gi-mil kar-ba-tim ir-ḫi-ṣu i-ḫaš-šu kakkabu
gi-ir bu-li la ba-ša taḫ-su-su êḳil (ga-na) bît[4] Bêli
gi-il-lat nêši i-pu-šú pi-ta-as-su haš[5]-tum
15. gi-iṣ maš-ri-î bêl pa-ni[6] ša gur[7]-ru-nu ma-ak-ku-ru
gi-riš ina û-um la ši-ma-ti[8] i-ḳa[9]-am-mê-šu ma-al-ku
gi-ir-ri an-nu-tu-ú i-ku-šu a-la-ka[10] taḫ-ši-iḫ
18. gi-mil du-um-ḳi ša ili da-ra-a ši-tê-'-ê

---

il-ta-nu ṭê-ên-ga ma-nit nišî da . . . . .
il-lu nu-us-su-ḳu mi-lik-ka . . . . .
21. il-tê-ên zik-ra mut-ta-ka duk . . . . .
il-la-ku ú-ru-uḫ dum-ḳi la muš-tê-ḫi-ti ni . . . . .
il-tab-ni i-tê-ên-šu muš-tê-mi-ku šá . . . . .
24. il-li gi-mi-ia-a-ma ṭê-im ili aṣ-ri-[iḫ ?]
il-la-ba-an-ka u tê-mi-ḳi-î šê-' (ilu) Iš-tar-ti
il-ku šá la ni-mê-li a-ša-aṭ ap-ša-nu
27. il-ta-kan ilu ki-i maš-ri-î ka-tu-ta
il-an-nu ku-uṣ-ṣu-du pa-na-an-ni lil-li
il-ta-ḳu-ú har-ḫa-ru-ú a-na at-taš-pil

---

30. ki-na ra-aš uz-ni ša-ku ta-ad-di-nu la ḫar-ḳa
ki-it-ta ta-du-ma ú-ṣur-ti ili ta-na-ṣu*
ki-du-di-î ili mimma šú-uṣ-ṣu-ru taḫ-ši-ḫu ka-bat-tuk

[1] *meš.* [2] *i.* [3] *su.* [4] *bi-it.* [5] *ḫa-aš.*
[6] *nu.* [7] *gu-ru-un.* [8] *tú.* [9] *ḳam-mêš.* [10] *ku.*

* A few more lines of this stanza have been preserved on the fragment K. 8463 (Col. II), as follows :—*ki-it-tu ta-at-ta-du-u* . . . . | *ki-du-di-î ilâni la šum-ṣu-ri* . . . . . | *ki-nu tê-mê-si* (*ilu*) *Iš-ta-ri šê* . . . . . | *ki-i ki-rib šami-î šip-ki ilâni* . . . . | *ḳi-bit pi-i* ➤✢ *il-ti ul iš-ḳur* . . . . | *ki-niš lit-mu-da-ma sa* . . . . | *ki-pi-du-ši-na-ma ana nišî* . . . . | *ki-ib-si il-ti šú-ḫu-za* . . . . | *ki-ru-ub ṭê-ên-ši-na* . . . .

ub-na . . . . .
up-tê iz-za-bil . . . . .
3. ub-bat li . . . . .
ub-tê-ên-ni li-gi . . . . .
up-tê ṣi-it niši . . . . .
6. up-tê-iḫ-ḫir lib . . . . .
up-tê-iḳ an . . . . .
ub-tê-'-i ḫi-šiḫ-[ti] . . . . .

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9. bi-i-ta lu-ud-di-lu . . . . .
bi-ša-a a-a aḫ-ši-iḫ . . . . .
bi-il-lu-di-î ilu ṣêni tam-ḫar . . . . . iṣ
12. bi-î-ra lu-na-ak-kis lu-bil . . . . . ak-lu
bi-ir-ta lu-ul-lik ni-sa-a-ti lu-ḫu-uz
bi-î-ra lu-up-ti a . . . . . lu-maš-šir
15. bi-î-ra ki-di ra-kis lu-ṭib tap-pu-tú
bi-it-bi-ti-iš[1] lu-tir ru-ba lu-ni-' bu-bu-ti
bi-ri-iš lu[2]-ut-tê-' lu-šib su-li-î lu-ṣa-a
18. bi-iṣ nu-kis ana[3] kir-bi lu-tir . . . . .
bi-î-šu tum . . . . . .

---

ib-ri ub-lam . . . . .
21. ip-šit niší la taḫ-ši-ḫu . . . . .
ib-šú-ú ina ṣur-ri . . . . . .
ib-ru pir-ḫu ka-ka . . . . .

šá ḫar-ḫa-ri ša taḫ-ši-ḫu bu-na-šú
šá am-mi ê-bu-ri di-šu za-mar i-ḫal-liḳ
3. šá la ilu gišḫabbu ra-ši ma-ak-ku-ra
šá-ga-šú (makkuršu?) kak-ka-šu i-šid-di-šú
šá la tu-ba-'-ú ṭê-im ili mi-nu-ú tuš-šar-ka
6. šá-di-id ni-ir ili lu-ú-ba-ṭi sa-di-ir a-dan-šu
šá-a-ra ṭa-a-ba ša ilâni ši-tê-'-ê-ma
šá šattu tu-ḫal-li-ḳu ta-rab a-na šur-ri

---

9. i-na ad-na-a-ti ab-ri-î-ma šit-na-a i-da-a-tu
i-lu a-na ḫir-ra-bi ul pa-ri-iṣ a-lak-ta
i-šad-da-ad i-na mit-ra-ta za-ru-ú êlippi
12. i-na ki-rib (iṣ) dun-ni ra-mi bu-kur-šú

[1] *šu.* [2] *lut.* [3] *a-na.*

i-laḳ-ḳit lab-biš ra-bi a-ḫi ú-ru-uḫ-šú
i-li-iṣ ma-lak bu-šú-ú pa-ra-a i-rid-di
15. i-na su-ki zi-lul-šu i-ṣa-a-a-ad ab-lum
i-šar-ra-aḳ tir-din-nu a-na ka-ti-i ti-šam-ta
i-na ma-ḫar kat-mi ša ad-da mu-ṣu mi-na-a ú-at-tar
18. i-na ša-pal aš-bal-ti-ia (arra-ti-ia?) kit-mu-sa-ku a-na-ku
i-na a-za-an-ni a-ḫu-ru-ú ša-ru-ú u ú-ḫu

---

li-'-ú pal-ku-ú šú-e ta-šim-ti
21. li-it-mu um-ma ṣur-ra-ka ilu ta-da-a-a-aṣ
li-ib-bi ili ki-ma ki-rib šami-î ni-si-ma
li-pit-a us-su-ru-šú šú-ma nišî la lam-da
24. li-pit-šú (ilu) A-ru-ru mit-ḫa-riš na-piš-ti
li-il-li-du nis-su ka-liš la mur-ri
li-it-tu bu-ur-šú riš-tu-ú ša-pil-ma
27. li-gi-mu[1] ša ar-ku-ú ma-ṣi sid-din-šú
li-il-lu ma-ru pa-na-a i-al-lad
li-'-ú ḳar-ra-du ša ša-ni-i ni-bit-su
30. li-'-it-ma[2] mi-na a-bak-ki[3] ilu-ma nišî la lam-da

ú-tag-gam-ma ib-ri li-mad šip-ki-ia
ú-ṣur nu-us-su-ḳa šum-kar at-mi-î-a
33. ú-ša-aš-ḳu-ú a-mat kab-ti[4] ša lit-mu-da bušî-[ša?
ú-šap-pa-lu[5] du-un[6]-na-ma-a ša la i[7]-pu-šu ḫi-bil-[ta
ú-kan[8]-nu rag-ga ša ilu rubû (Êa) abi-šu . . . . .
3. ú-ṭa-ra-du ki-na[9] ša ana[10] ṭê-im ili bu . . . . . .
ú-ma'-al-lu-ú pa-sal-la[12] ša ḫa[13]-bi-la[14] ni . . . . . .
ú-šal-ḳu[15] iš-šik-ki[16] ša-pi is-nu-ḳu tê[17]-'-t[a[18]
6. ú-dan-na-nu[19] šal-ṭu ša pu-ḫur-šu an . . . . . .
ú-la-la ib-ba-tu i-ṭar-ri-su[20] la-li-î
ú ia-a-ši it-nu-šu bê[21]-êl pâ-ni ri-dan-nu . . . . . .

---

9. šar kat-mi[22] na[23]-an-na[24]-ru ba-nu-u a-pa-a-ti[25]
šar-ḫu (ilu) Zu-lum mar[26]-ka ri-ṣu[27] ṭi-iṭ-ṭi-[28]šin
šar-ra-tú[29] pa-ti-iḳ-ta-ši-na šú-ê-tum[30] (ilu) Ma-ma[31]
12. šar-ku a[32]-na a-mê-lu[33]-ti id-gu-ra[34] da-ba-ba

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1 *mu-u.* 2 *deest.* 3 *ku.* 4 *tu.* 5 *nab-bal.* 6 *sik.*
7 *i-šú-ú.* 8 *ka-an.* 9 *i-nu.* 10 *deest* 11 *mal.* 12 *lu.*
13 *ḫab.* 14 *lu.* 15 *ḳu.* 16 *ku.* 17 *ti.* 18 *tú.*
19 *da-na-an.* 20 *is-su.* 21 *bêl.* 22 *ṣilli* (?). 23 *deest.* 24 *nar.*
25 *t[um].* 26 *ma-ar.* 27 *iṣ.* 28 *ṭa-ši-na.* 29 *tum.* 30 *tú.*
31 *mi.* 32 *ana.* 33 *lut.* 34 *ru.*

šar-ra-a-ti[35] la[36] ki-na-a-ti[37] iš-ru-ku-šu ina[38] sa[39]-at-tak
šar-ḫi-iš šá ša-ri-i i-dib-bu-bu dum-ḳi-šu
15. šar-ma maš[40]-ru-šú[41] il-la-ku i-da-a-šu
šar-ra-kiš i[42]-lam-ma-nu du[43]-un-na-ma-a a-mê-lu
šar-ku-šú[44] nu-ul-la-tum i-ḳap-pu-du-šu nir-ti
18. šar-ri-êš[45] ka-la lum-nu šú-ḫu um-mê aš-šu la i-šú-ú i-ri-tú
šar-ba-bi-iš uš-ḫa-ram-mu-šú ú-bal-lu-šu ki-ma la-a-mi

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ri-mi-na-a-tú ib-ri ni-is-sa-tum ši-tê-'-mê
21. ri-ṣa-am-ma[46] nam-ra-ṣu a-mur lu-u ti-i-du
ri-i-šú pal-ku-ú mut-nin-nu-ú a-na a-di
ri-ṣa u tuk-la-tum za-mar ul a-mur
24. ri-bit âli-ia ú-ba-'-ú ni-ḫi-iš
ri-ig-mu ul iš-ša-pu iš-ša-pil at-mu-ú-a
ri-ši-ia ul ul-lu ḳaḳ-ḳa-ri a-na-aṭ-ṭ[al
27. ri-šiš ul a-dal-lal ina puḫur it . . . . .
ri-ṣa liš-ku-nu Ninip ša it . . . . . .
ri-ma li-ir-ša-a Iš-tar ša . . . . .
30. ri-ê-um Šam-ši ni-ši i-liš . . . . . .

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ba . . . . . .

35 *tá.* 36 *u la.* 37 *na-tu.* 38 *decst.* 39 *sa-an-tuḳ-ku.* 40 *mêš.*
41 *ú.* 42 *ú.* 43 *dun.* 44 *uš.* 45 *iš.* 46 *acest.*

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF AMENOPHIS IV.

By Dr. A. Wiedemann.

The short reign of King Amenophis IV was of such importance to the history of Egyptian religion and art, that each text of this period must have a particular value. From this point of view I give a description of the following monuments :—

1. Stela, calcarious stone, rounded at the top. Geneva University Museum, D. 49. 63cm. high, 33cm. large, the figures filled in with red, the hieroglyphics with blue colour. Below the signs , a man with the lotus-flower and the tie in his hands, and a woman who embraces him, are sitting ; before them, an altar and a standing man in the position of speaking. Behind the last man, ; above the altar, (*sic*) ; before the sitting persons, * Below, a man and a woman are sitting before an altar with gifts, on the other side of which two women cower. Above them, in horizontal lines :

(1) (2) (*sic*) (3) .

Below, written from right to left, the inscription :

(1) (*sic*) (2) (3)

* For the name and word *ȧā-ȧb*, cf. *Rec. de trav. rel.*, etc., XIV, p. 120, *sqq.* ; XV, p. 46, l. 7 ; Lieblein, *Dict. des noms*, *pass.* ; *Rec. de trav.*, XIII, p. 116, is found the woman-name .

(4) (*sic*) (5 vertical)

(6 vertical) .

Side by side with the two last lines, six persons are cowering:

(1) man, (2) man, (3) man, (4) man, (5) woman, (6) man.

The name of the last person has been written below him, the space above being already filled by the other texts. The beginning of the third name has been destroyed on purpose, but enough is left to recognise with certainty the word . This erasure of the name of the god Amon shows that the monument belongs to the time before the reformation of Chu-en-âten. On the other hand the determinative ⊗ instead of ⊙ behind in line 4 proves, that at that time the town of Aten was already spoken of, and that the thought of this place induced the scribe to err.* We may thus date this stela of a man of Abydos with great certainty in the years 4–6 of Amenophis IV.

2. Slab of calcareous stone in the Museum at Berlin, No. 2070 (Lepsius, 199; new catalogue, p. 102) with a representation running from right to left. A standing man brings in the right hand ; in

* A similar mistake is found in Papyrus Louvre 3283 (ed. Wiedemann, *Hierat. Texte*). In this text, written for a woman of Thebes, the divinity is called, pl. I, l. 6, , "who examines the words of the men with the level" (*cf.* Renouf, *Religion der alten Aegypter*, p. 195). The writer has given to the word *ret-u* , , etc.; for the reading, *cf.* Naville, *Aeg. Z.*, 1882, p. 188, *sqq.*) the determinative ⊗, because he had in mind in writing at the end of the word, the name of , the part of Thebes, which had a particular connection with the treatment of the dead.

the left five rectangular, flat parcels lying one on the other; the scene is accompanied by this inscription, in vertical lines:

(1) (2) (3) (4 horizontal) * †

(vertical) * † .

Behind, a man brings two ties; inscription in vertical lines:

(1) (2) (3 horizontal)

(*sic*) .

The text itself contains some formulæ of the *Libro dei funerali*, which was discovered and excellenty treated by Schiaparelli. The bringing of the vases *ābut* is found in the text of this publication, I, p. 144 *sqq.* (*cf.* II, 362, under the word), and the bringing of the feather, I, p. 143 (*cf.* II, 275) and the bringing of the ties occurs II, p. 15 *sqq.*, in a much more developed form. For the general sense of the formula, we may refer to the book of Schiaparelli; here we will speak only about a curious variant found in the first text. The feather brought by the man is that of an ostrich. The text of Schiaparelli calls it [ ] or , and here *nenā*, *nenu* are forms of the word *nnu*, *nnāu*, etc., "ostrich."§ Our text gives instead the word *, †,

† Instead of * the original has the standing bird . The leg is in the original more similar to that of an ostrich than in the hieroglyphic type used here.

‡ *Cf.* for the writing of the text, *Rec. de trav. rel.*, etc., XV, p. 37, from the time of Chu-en-âten.

§ The writing, , in Dümichen, *Rec.*, IV, pl. 14, l. 84, for the feather, which was accepted by Goodwin, *Aeg. Z.*, 1874, p. 37, is faulty; the right form is , given in the publication of the same text by Mariette, *Dend.*, IV, 37, l. 84 (*cf.* Loret, *Rec. de trav. rel.*, etc., IV, p. 30).

which is new in this sense; its determinatives are two well-drawn images of a standing ostrich with its long legs and short wings— is therefore the picture of a sitting ostrich, not, as is usually believed (*e.g.*, Rougé, *Chr. ég.*, I, 60) of a newly born bird,—and the leg of the animal. The word itself explains the origin of the reading *mā* for . *Mā-t* is the old name of the bird, which was supplanted afterwards by *nnu*, but remained in the syllabic sign . This is another example of the fact, that the syllabic reading of a sign gives us sometimes an old designation of the represented thing, a designation which may often be older than the word used for the same object by the current language.

The owner of the slab is called the first time Meriti-Neith; in the other places, Meriti, with a circle at the end which will represent the sun. On three other fragments out of his tomb, found in the south of the great pyramid of Saqqarah (published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 449), he appears also as Meriti without Neith, but with the sign O. In reality, the name will have been Meriti-Neith, but as the cult of Neith was proscribed by the Âten-religion, her name had here to disappear, and was changed to the name of the sun-god. That this was really the case, is shown by the slab itself, on which we may yet observe, that at the two places, where Meriti-Rā is found, the ○ has been written over an erased . The monument belongs, therefore, to the moment in which the Âten-cult became conqueror also at Memphis.

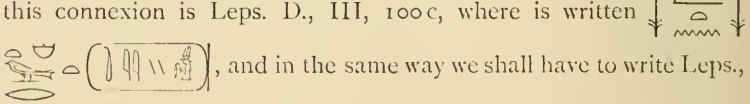
3. In these *Proceedings*, VII, p. 200, *sqq.*, I published an Ušebti of the time of Chu-en-âten, which showed instead of Chapter VI of the *Todtenbuch* the formula , etc. The same formula in a somewhat more developed form is found on a heart scarab of greenish stone in the Museum at Turin, No. 5993, which belonged to a functionary of the . A man of the name Âpii is known in the time of Chu-en-âten from his tomb at Tell-el-Amarna, whose texts were published by Bouriant, *Mém. de la Miss. du Caire*, I, p. 11, *sqq.*, and Piehl, *Inscr.*, I, pl. 191–2), but as he bears other titles than our Âpii,* he is not to be identified with him.

* This fact is possible to ascertain, if also the exact title of the owner of the scarab cannot be made out from the publication of its inscription in the Catalogue of the Museum, II, p. 209.

Under any circumstances the name is not the more interesting part of the monument at Turin, it is the fact, that it shows, that in the time when the Àten-cult flourished, the custom of giving to the dead a heart-scarab was kept up as well as the custom of the Ušebtis, but that in the two cases the ordinary formula referring to the Osiris-religion were changed in favour of the worship of Àten.

4. Nearly at the same period, but, as the mention of the god Thoth shows, not during the ascendancy of the Àten-cult, a curious monument found in Italy (now at Florence, Cat. Schiaparelli, p. 314, No. 1588; Photogr., Petrie, No. 165), was worked out. It is a relief calling to mind from the manner of its carvings the plans found in the tombs of Tell-el-Amarna. It shows an Egyptian court-yard, at the left of which is the poultry-yard, at the right, above, four magazines, of which three are full of wine-pots, below some rooms, the contents of which have disappeared. Between these two rows of magazines a door leads into an emplacement, probably a court, in which a small table with different objects on it stands, as well as a scale with its weights in the form of animals. Backwards three naos are to be seen; above the one in the middle a stela is drawn, which, following the rules of Egyptian perspective means that the stela was placed in the naos. Above the naos on the right and the one on the left is the picture of a coffin, similar to the coffins of queen Àḥmes-nefer-àteri and queen Àḥ-ḥetep found at Dêr-el-baḥari.

We know from the Greek authors, that in Egypt the custom existed of preserving in one room of the house mummy-formed coffins containing the corpses of dead relatives. The excavations of Petrie at Hawara speak to the correctness of these notices for the later time,* but documents of older periods relating to this custom were wanting till now. I believe this bas-relief fills this gasp, the naos with the mummies reproduce each a *οἴκημα θηκαῖον*, as Herodotus, II, 86, calls these rooms; the naos in the middle would contain a stela with an inscription in memory of the deceased persons.

5. We are accustomed to take Tii as the mother of Amenophis IV, but this is not at all certain. The text generally refered to in this connexion is Leps. D., III, 100c, where is written  , and in the same way we shall have to write Leps.,

* *Cf.* Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 360 *sq.*

D., III, 100d, instead of in the middle . Yet Lepsius (*Abh. der Berl. Akad.* 1851, p. 199) has shown, that at the time of Chu-en-âten the word *mut*, "mother," was written not with , but with or , surely to avoid a confusion in orthography between it and the name of the Theban divinity Mut. These texts call, therefore, Tii the mother of the queen, she must have been, in consequence, the mother-in-law of Amenophis IV. If she is called in another place (Leps. D., III, 101) , this would show only that the king gave her the title Royal Mother, because a part of his rights to the throne was founded on his relationship with her. Another daughter of Tii was, then, the sister of Chu-en-âten's wife Net'em-t-Mut, which appears Leps. D., III, 109, and is in all likelihood identical with the wife, whom Ḥor-em-ḥeb married in order to legitimize his position as Pharaoh. The reasons of the high position of Tii, to whom even her husband Amenophis III paid tribute in quoting her so many times on his monuments, will only be understood, when we know something certain about her parents Tuâa and Iuâa.* The effort has been made to identify Tii with Kirkipa, the daughter of the prince Satârna of Neharina; but, as the scarab† relating the arrival of Kirkipa in Egypt, is dated from the time of Amenophis III and Tii, the daughter of Tuâa and Iuâa, this idea must be thoroughly abandoned.

* In the inscription found by Petrie at Gurob (Petrie, *Illahun*, pl. 24), by which the great royal wife Tii consecrates an altar to , *sen* cannot be translated "brother," as the two have different parents; also the idea, that *sen* is here the masculine of *sen-t*, "consort," is not plausible, as Tii is named just before . It will have to be taken not in the sense of designation of relationship, but only as meaning "beloved," the word being so used in the love-songs of Pap. Harris, 500. In the same sense, it may be translated, Leps., *Ausw.*, pl. 11, where Thutmosis III is called the of Rāmāka, the king being probably, not brother, but nephew to this queen.

† Publ. by Brugsch, *Aeg. Z.*, 1880, p. 81, *sqq.*, and *Thes.*, p. 1413; in facsimile by Maspero, *Rec. de trav. rel.*, etc., XV, p. 200; a duplicate by Legrain, *l.c.* XVI, p. 62.

The next Meeting of the Society will be holden at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, the 7th May, 1895.

The following Paper will be read:—

Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A., Oxon.—"The Testament of Jacob" (Genesis xlix).

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

Alker, E., Die Chronologie der Bucher der Könige und Paralipomenōn im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.
Amélineau, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
——————— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
——————— La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
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VOL. XVII. TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION.

Fifth Meeting, May 7th, 1895.

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NOTICE.

The Library and Office of the Society will be closed for vacation during the month of August.

W. H. RYLANDS.

Secretary.

The President referred to the loss the Society had recently suffered by the death of the VERY REV. ROBERT PAYNE SMITH, D.D., Dean of Canterbury.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

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TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1895.

Fifth Meeting, 7th May, 1895.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President,

IN THE CHAIR.

The President referred to the loss the Society had recently suffered by the death of the Very Rev. Robert Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury.

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From the Publishers:—H. Grevel and Co. Manual of Egyptian Archæology. By G. Maspero, D.C.L. Oxon. Translated by Amelia B. Edwards. New Edition. 8vo. 1895.

The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul. By Alfred Wiedemann, D.Ph. London. 8vo. 1895.

The following Candidate was elected a Member of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 2nd April :—

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Frederick William Read, 4, Clarendon Gardens, Maida Vale, W.
Captain Granville Smith, 131, Queen's Gate, S.W.
George H. Whittaker, Rush Bank, Middleton Road, Oldham.

A Paper was read by the Rev. C. J. Ball, on "The Testament of Jacob." (Gen. xlix.)

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE TESTAMENT OF JACOB (Gen. xlix).

By the Rev. C. J. Ball.

Note.—G. = Greek version (LXX). ⌒ = Samaritan Text. S. = Syriac (Peshitta). T. = Targum (Onkelos). J. = Jerome (Vulgate).

This ancient text has exercised a kind of fascination upon the minds of many scholars of the most varied gifts and acquirements. After all the pains, however, that have been lavished upon its interpretation, it still remains in many respects obscure and unintelligible. The dying patriarch who is the mouthpiece of the unknown poet, like the fabled Sphinx, propounds his ancient riddles anew to each succeeding generation of students. Yet there is no valid reason for assuming beforehand that the thoughtful labours of the competent will not eventually clear up the remaining obscurities, and produce out of materials, gathered from every possible source, a trustworthy text, and a self-coherent and harmonious interpretation which will carry conviction to the general apprehension.

We need not be afraid of emending a text which cries aloud for emendation. The general laws of Hebrew syntax—apart from that extraordinary mass of ingenious speculations by which it is sought to palliate improbable, and justify impossible constructions—must be steadily borne in mind. Continuity of thought must be expected, and, where not apparent, must be made the object of careful search in each distinct portion of the text. The light thrown upon our subject by the finished course of Israel's history is not to be disregarded from any legitimate fears we may entertain of reading into the text a meaning which is not there. Above all, it must never be forgotten that we are dealing with poetry, not prose; and that, consequently, poetic style and phraseology, poetic form, exhibiting the vital principle of parallelism in thought and expression, as well as a certain degree of syllabic equipoise, will naturally be

present throughout the piece, though in some cases they may be concealed under the mask of time-honoured corruptions.

The insertion of poems and poetical citations in historical prose is a familiar phenomenon of Oriental literature. It is not, therefore, at all surprising to meet with sporadic instances of the same practice in the Book of Genesis. That the piece before us is a poem, and not merely elevated prose, appears plainly enough from the matter and manner of it; a fact which I hope will become even more apparent in the course of our examination. That it is, moreover, one of the oldest sections of the book is generally recognized by Hebrew scholars; whether it be assigned with Dillmann to the period of the Judges, or, as seems more probable, to the age of the Judean monarchy. A first glance reveals the fact that the praise of Judah (vv. 8–10) and the praise of Joseph (vv. 22–26) are the principal themes of the singer. The other tribes are simply the background, or the foil to these. To Judah no less than seventeen *stichi* are devoted; to Joseph nineteen. This clearly reflects the historical fact that Judah and Joseph-Ephraim were the two leading tribes around which the others clustered—the two kingdoms of the House of Israel. But more than this. The writer makes a marked distinction between these two leading tribes. While heaping blessings on the head of Joseph, and even designating him "the Nazirite of his brothers" (v. 26), he is in full sympathy with the later feeling of the literary prophets, who saw the only legitimate rule in the House of Judah and the line of David. Nothing that he says of Joseph can fairly be made a reference to the separate kingdom which had its seat in Samaria. And this silence becomes all the more significant when we recollect Joseph's dreams, with their apparent promise of sovereignty over all Israel. It is as if the writer regarded these as exhausted of their import by Joseph's exaltation in Egypt, and the consequent submission of his brethren. But of Judah he speaks in a tone which really leaves little doubt as to his meaning. After clearing the way by a sentence of disinheritance upon Reuben, the first-born son and natural heir of the hegemony in Israel, and by the ban pronounced on Simeon and Levi, the two succeeding sons of Leah; he expressly assigns to Judah the homage of all his brethren, in the very terms in which Joseph's brothers had seen a reference to royal supremacy—the terms also in which Isaac had promised Israel the dominion over Edom and other peoples (v. 8; *cf.* ch. xxvii, 29; xxxvii, 7, 8); he

compares him to the lion, the king of beasts (*cf.* Prov. xix, 12; xx, 2; xxx, 30; Rev. iv, 5; Num. xxiii, 24; Ezek. xix, 3, 5, 6; 2 Sam. i, 23); he gives him wine—the royal beverage—in abundance, as Isaac had given to Jacob (ch. xxvii, 28, 37); and finally, in a verse, which, however difficult, cannot be treated as an interpolation without destroying the connection of thought, he endows Judah with a "sceptre" and the "obedience of peoples" (*cf.* ch. xxvii, 29).

Of Judah, as of Joseph, the goodly land is a chief blessing:

> He shall bind his foal to the vine,
> His ass colt to the choice vine;
> He shall wash his apparel in wine,
> His clothing in blood of grapes;
> Dull of the eyes from wine,
> And white of the teeth from milk.

For Judah, too, as for Joseph (*vide infra*), fighting is in store. But Judah is praised for his own native valour. He is not a timid hart like Joseph (*cf.* Ps. lxxviii, 9); he is a lion who preys on his enemies, and his father's sons do him the homage due to their champion—not an obscure intimation of the prowess of David, and his elevation to the throne of all Israel. The sceptre and the staff of rule, the insignia of leadership in war and of sovereignty in peace, will not depart from Judah (*cf.* the apparently imitative phrase, Zech. x, 11: ושבט מצרים יסור). As in Balaam's prophecy (Num. xxiv, 17*), the "sceptre" is the mace that crushes the foe (*cf.* also Isa. x, 5, 15, 24); and here, as there, the victories of David are hinted at, as well as the first successes which established this tribe in its permanent domain west of the Jordan (Judges i).

We have to find, as we have said, a meaning in agreement with the context and with the data of history. As a matter of fact, Judah was the royal tribe; and David, the great founder of Israel's monarchy and of the only permanent dynasty, was of this tribe. Historically, in this respect, Judah stands alone among all the tribes; for the House of Joseph, after the separation, never achieved a stable dynasty.

All this indicates that the piece belongs to the period of the Davidic monarchy. It might even be thought to date from the palmy days

* The "star" of this passage is probably a lance or pike, as the parallel expression indicates. *Cf.* the Accadian MUL-MUL (written *star+star*), Assyrian *mulmullu*, lance, spear.

of Solomon, to which we might see a reference in what is said about Asher (v. 20):—

> Asher—his food shall be fat;
> And he shall yield the king's dainties.

The word מלך here is certainly not without bearing on the question of age. Asher is expressly named among the districts which had to provide the monthly supplies of Solomon's household (1 Kings iv, 16).

The curse upon Levi—for it is nothing else—and the silence about his priesthood (the principal element in postexilic conceptions of him), seems to exclude the last period of the monarchy, while it agrees very well with the earlier date.

Nor is there anything fatal to this view in what is said of the other tribes. Zebulun and Issachar, which figure as warlike communities in the ancient song of Deborah (Judges v, 14, 15, 18), are here presented in a different light. What is said of Zebulun (v. 13) evidently contemplates the tribe as long settled in its locality, and as having exchanged its ancient military prowess for the hazards and profits of a seafaring life, such as might naturally be suggested by neighbourhood with the Phœnicians, the great seafaring race of antiquity. Perhaps Solomon's "Navy of Tarshish," which accompanied the navy of Hiram, king of Tyre, in trading voyages (1 Kings x, 22), was manned by Zebulunites. In the probably later poem, known as the Blessing of Moses, it is said of both Zebulun and Issachar (Deut. xxxiii, 19):—

> They shall suck the abundance of seas,
> And treasures hid in the sand.

The "treasures of the sand" may well denote the murex, or purple fish, from which was obtained the famous dye. The eldest son or chief clan of Issachar was named Tola, "purple fish" (Gen. xlvi, 13: *see* also Judges x, 1); an indirect confirmation of the tribe's contiguity to the coast. The existing text of Gen. xlix presents us with three lines about Zebulun:—

> זבולן לחוף ימים ישכן
> והוא לחוף אנית
> וירכתו על צידן:

The third line looks like an explanatory gloss or interpolation, specifying Zebulun's point of contact with the coast. As a local

determination it is without parallel in the entire piece, and is, besides, thoroughly prosaic. Rejecting this, we are still dissatisfied with the remaining couplet, as both tautologous and pointless. The phrase חוף ימים recurs (Judges v, 17), but חוף אניות, *strand of ships*, never. The term חוף, in fact, is always joined, either with הים (prose; *e.g.*, Deut. i, 7), or with the anarthrous plural ימים (poetry; here and Judges *l.c.*, only). A slight change would get rid of this doubtful expression, and what is more important, restore an adequate sense to the couplet. לחוף might be an accidental inversion of the rare חובל, pilot (Ezek. xxvii, 8, 27–29; Jonah i, 6 only). But the parallel passage, Judges v, 17, almost demonstrates that the repeated לחוף has displaced יגור. And now the second line tells us something more about Zebulun, instead of simply repeating the first:—

Zebulun by the strand of seas will dwell;
And he will sojourn in ships.

The result is interesting in the paucity of information about this ancient tribe. And the whole statement suits the settled times of the monarchy, from Solomon onwards, better than the stormy period of the Judges. The expressions, "will dwell," "will sojourn," seem to connect *Zebulun* with *zebul*, dwelling (*scil.* of Jahvah; *cf.* Shechaniah).

The sneer at Issachar, again (vv. 14, 15; *cf.* Judges v, 16), does not well agree with the times of the Judges, when Issachar was represented by the hero Barak ben Abinoam (Judges iv, 5) and Tola ben Puah, who judged Israel twenty-three years (Judges x, 1, 2). Baasha of Issachar appears as a strong king of the northern kingdom (1 Kings xv, 27); and the tribe is decidedly warlike according to 1 Chron. vii, 1–5, upon which, however, not too much stress can be laid, as we know nothing of its date or source. The hexasyllabic hexastich upon Issachar certainly resembles a retrospect rather than a prophecy:—

Issachar was a sturdy ass,
Couching amid the stalls:
And he marked that his resting-place was goodly,
And that the land was rich;
So he bowed his shoulder to burden-bearing,
And became a toiling serf.

It is possible that the strong cities of the Great Plain—*e.g.*, Bethshan, Taanach, and Megiddo—in whose territory this tribe had

obtained some sort of footing, gradually encroached on Issachar's liberties, until they had, for a time at least, reduced it to the position of a sort of villeinage. It is strange that the tribe is not even mentioned in Judges i, 27 sqq. What is said of the Canaanites, Josh. xvi, 10, may in some cases have been true of the intruding Israelites. Hiram of Tyre may have acquired and exercised authority over the tribe, which tamely submitted to the foreign yoke for the sake of peace and quietness. Among the fragmentary traditions of Kings, we find that Solomon ceded "twenty cities in the land of Galilee" to Tyre (1 Kings ix, 11). The attitude of Issachar may have had something to do with the fact; though in the meagreness of the records, we cannot determine precisely what it was. In any case, Issachar's service is forced, like that of a beast of burden, or it would not be called מס עבד; *cf.* 1 Kings v, 13, 15 (= v, 27, 29 Heb.). Riehm's view, that it was voluntary wage-earning service to the foreign traders passing through the tribal territory, can only be right if the poet meant no more than a mere sarcasm by his strong language, which seems unlikely.

The phrase חמור גרם, *ass of bone*, demands a word of comment. It occurs nowhere else; but is essentially similar to Ezekiel's לב בשר, *heart of flesh;* לב האבן, *the heart of stone* (Ezek. xi, 19; xxxvi, 26). But the supposed Arabic phrases حمار جرم, *a strong ass*, فرس جرم, *a strong horse*, cited by Gesenius, Thesaurus, *s.v.* גרם, from Schultens, and repeated in all the manual editions of his lexicon, appear to find no support in the native Arabic lexicographers. But we do find the adjective جريم, *large-bodied*, applied to camels; *e.g.*, in the phrase جلّة جريم (*see* LANE); and we may fairly assume the identity of this term with the גרים of 𝔐 (Gesen., Thes., p. 303), though Geiger and others prefer to follow the Targum of 𝔗 in pointing חמור גֵרִים, *an ass of sojourners*, or *resident aliens* (תותבים). J., correctly, *asinus fortis;* but G., strangely enough, τὸ καλὸν ἐπεθύμησεν, which seems to imply a reading חֶמֶד חָמַד (*cf.* Isa. xxvii, 2; where חֶמֶד has the double rendering καλὸς ἐπιθύμημα; and Num. xvi, 15, where M., חמור, ass = G., ἐπιθύμημα). S. ܓܒܪܐ (= איש מדין, 2 Sam. xxi, 20); perhaps reading or correcting גבר for גרם. At all events, S. renders פרא אדם (ch.

xvi, 12) quite literally. In line 3 we have pointed מְנֻחֹה (מנוח), because of טוב; and in line 4 we read שמנה with G. and Targ. Sam. (*cf.* Onk.). Rich pasture would be more attractive to an ass than a lovely landscape.

The hexastich on Dan seems to refer chiefly to the past traditions of the tribe. The opening couplet—

> Dan shall wreak doom for his people,
> Like one of the tribes of Israel,

at first sight does little more than play on the name Dan, which means doomster, judge. But the words promise Dan equality of rank with his brother tribes, though his families were few and his territory small, because of his martial qualities, which are suggested by the figure of the following lines:—

> Be Dan a serpent on the way,
> A crested snake on the highroad;
> That biteth the horse's heels,
> So that *he throweth* his rider backward.

The Targums interpret the entire oracle as a direct reference to the Danite judge and hero Samson, and his exploits against the Philistines. In the tantalizing glimpses afforded by the book of Judges, we find the tribe of Dan settled at Zorah and Eshtaol on the outer verge of the Judean hills, commanding the approaches from the plain of Philistia; but we are told that no domain had "fallen unto them among the tribes of Israel" (Judges xviii, 1). Samson, the great hero of the tribe, who avenges his people upon their Philistine oppressors, is of Zorah (Judges xiii, 2); and Jahvah's Spirit "urges him in Mahaneh-Dan (Dan's Camp), between Zorah and Eshtaol" (*id.* xiii, 25). Here the tribe lay as an advanced guard on the hills overhanging the highroad from the sea and the plain inland; and doubtless harried the rear of any companies of marauding horsemen passing that way (*cf.* v. 19). The image of the serpent suggests the cunning of ambushes and surprise attacks (*cf.* also ch. iii, 15, עקבו; xxv, 26, יעקב; xxvii, 36; and xlix, 19, עקבם). We point וַיַּפֵּל, with T., instead of וַיִּפֹּל.

The same attitude of watchers on the highway suits also the position of the tribe in its new settlement of Lesham (Laish, Dan), which they wrested from the Canaanites by a sudden and unsuspected assault; thus again exhibiting the supposed craft of the serpent

(Judges xviii, 27). Laish—the name is identical with ליש, "lion," the Assyrian *nêšu*, and therefore accounts for the oracle relating to Dan in the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii, 22)—was situate on the great northern highway from Damascus past the sources of the Jordan to the seaboard (*cf.* Jer. viii, 16): "The snorting of his horses was heard from Dan," said of enemies approaching by the northern route to the invasion of Palestine.

The seventh stichus, לישועתך קויתי יהוה, *For thy salvation have I waited, O Jahvah!* is probably the aspiration of some marginal annotator, writing after the fall of the northern kingdom, and sighing for the fulfilment of this prophecy, which would make of Dan a true bulwark of Israel. The name of Jahvah does not occur anywhere else in the entire poem; and the line is besides out of rhythm and asymmetrical, the utterance about Dan forming a hexasyllabic hexastich, like that about Issachar. G., *τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων Κυρίου*, which refers the line to Dan himself, as if מקוה stood in the original, shows that the exclamation was felt as an interruption. Similarly, Saadiah introduces it with يقول, *he (Dan) will say.*

Of Gad, it is said (v. 19):—

> Gad—raiders will raid upon him;
> But he will raid upon *their* rear.

This, again, simply tells us of the perpetual liability of this border tribe of East Jordan land to the freebooting attacks of marauding tribes and hostile peoples; such as it suffered in the ninth century B.C. from the Arameans, in the course of their long and relentless struggle with the northern kingdom (*cf.* 2 Kings v, 2); and doubtless from the earliest period of its settlement, on the part of the lawless tribes of the desert: *see* the account of the wars of the East Jordan tribes with the nomades of northern Arabia (1 Chron. v, 10–22). In Num. xxxii, Gad figures as a pastoral tribe, choosing its portion on the east of Jordan as a "suitable place for cattle." The Bené Gad, therefore, were not essentially dissimilar in life, character and pursuits, from the roving tribes which from time to time tried to oust them from the rich pastures which they had themselves occupied by force. Their warlike temper is attested by a poetical fragment embedded in 1 Chron. xii, 8. The tribe was carried away by Tiglath-pileser, B.C. 734 (*see* 2 Kings xv, 29; 1 Chron. v, 26), and the Ammonites were in occupation of its territory about B.C. 600 (Jer. xlix, 1). It is self-evident that the

couplet about Gad must belong to an earlier period than these events; but beyond this it would apply equally well to the times of the Judges, or to those of Solomon (*see* 1 Kings xi, 24, 25), or to almost any period previous to the year 734.

Of Asher we have already spoken. The fertility of his land is again alluded to (Deut. xxxiii, 24): "Let him dip his foot in oil!" The names of Ahlab and Helbah among his cities (Judges i, 31), both meaning fatness, *i.e.*, rich fertility, indicate the same thing. We see him living at peace with his Phœnician neighbours (Judges v, 17):

> Asher sat still by the strand of seas,
> And on his beaches would abide.

No judge or national saviour sprang from Asher; and his name is absent from the list of tribes (1 Chron. xxvii, 16–22).

It is generally admitted that the utterance concerning Naphtali is corrupt as it stands in M.:

נפתלי אילה שלחה
הנתן אמרי שפר:

but the extent to which corruption has gone is not so generally perceived. Following G, most critics point אילה as אֵלָה=אֵילָה terebinth, and אמרי as אֲמִרֵי cacumina, in the sense of tree-tops; but G. does not necessitate this, although it certainly figures the tribe as a tree, not an animal. The words are:—

> Νεφθαλεὶ στέλεχος ἀνειμένον
> Ἐπιδιδοὺς ἐν τῷ γενήματι κάλλος.

On this we observe that, (1) στέλεχος, trunk or stump, is used for גזע (Job xiv, 8), and for עלה, foliage (Jer. xvii, 8), but nowhere for אלה; (2) in some ten places, *e.g.*, Deut. xxvi, 10, γένημα=פרי, fruit; so that ἐν τῷ γενήματι may represent a reading בפרי; (3) στέλεχος occurs twice as the rendering of פארה, branch (Ezek. xxxi, 12, 13; M., פראתיו=פרתיו=פארתיו; *cf.* the proper name פארה=פרה in Judges vii, 10, 11). This may indicate פרת=פריה, a fruiting tree, *e.g.*, an olive or a vine (Isa. xvii, 6; Ps. cxxviii, 3), confused by G. with פ[א]רה, branch. As the true reading in the first stichus, we thus restore:

נפתלי פרת שלחה
Naphtali is a spreading *vine*.

We next remark that פרת, being feminine, requires הנתנת in the second stichus; and that, whereas נתן פרי, to yield fruit, is a common phrase, נתן is not used of putting forth branches, while שלח is so used, especially in the case of the vine (Ps. lxxx, 11; Ezek. xvii, 6; ותשלח פארת, *and shot forth sprigs*). This is a further objection to אמירי, even if that term could mean branches. אמיר, in fact, does not occur in the plural; and, as it means top, peak, crest, whether of a tree or of a mountain (Isa. xvii, 6, 9 only), the plural is plainly inappropriate in the case of a single tree. Finally, common corruptions of letters will account for the metamorphosis of an original, הנתנת פרי, *that yieldeth fruit*, into G. הנתן בפרי on the one hand, and M. הנתן אמרי on the other. The second stichus, therefore, becomes:

הנתנת פרי שפר
That yieldeth beauteous *fruit.*

The Targum preserves a trace of the true text, for it renders: "Naphtali in a good land shall his lot be cast, And his domain *shall yield fruits*" (מעבדא פירין). Viticulture, moreover, would be natural to a tribe like Naphtali, living "on fertile mountain slopes" (Ewald, *Hist.*, II, 290, E.T.). His very name may have suggested vine tendrils to the poet, as being derived from פתל, to twist and twine* (*cf.* the somewhat analogous uses of افتل, فتلة). At all events, the sole allusion, as in the case of Asher, is to the richness of Naphtali's land, which agrees with his blessing in Deut. xxxiii, 23. The tribe is expressly mentioned by name among those that supplied Solomon's table; and its importance in the matter is perhaps reflected in the fact that the deputy in charge there for this purpose was the king's son-in-law. But the couplet would plainly suit any period between the Occupation and 734 B.C.

But how did אילה, hind, get substituted for the rare פרת, fruiting vine, in the blessing of Naphtali? The answer to this question brings light to the problem that next awaits us. Others have perceived the incongruity of the statements (vv. 22 sqq.). *Joseph is a fruitful bough* (fruiting tree) . . . . . *The archers have sorely grieved him*, etc.; and Dr. C. H. H. Wright long ago suggested the rendering, *Joseph is a stag . . . . And the archers harass him;*

* The true meaning is perhaps "The Shifty" or "Wily;" *cf.* נפתל, Prov. viii, 8, and the name Jacob.

justifying it, however, by the assertion that פרת is "here equivalent to פרה, a heifer, a hind, for antelopes are called by the Arabs بقر الوحش, wild oxen." The difficulty is that there is no other trace of the supposed use in Hebrew. The Assyrian *parratu*, again, which in Hebrew would take the form פרה, means ewe; and בן פרה, *son of a ewe*, would apply very well to Joseph ben Rachel (רחל, ewe). This, however, does not suit the context. Archers would not shoot at a sheep: nor would a sheep be standing alone by a spring, though a hart (איל) might. Clearly, the term אילה, which we now find applied to Naphtali, belonged originally to Joseph's blessing. This is far from being the only instance of such unhappy transpositions of words by transcribers of the O.T. text. G. *υἱὸς ηὐξημένος Ἰωσήφ* (= J. filius accrescens Joseph) shows that the text was already corrupt; for *αὐξάνεσθαι* is the usual equivalent of פרה, to increase (i, 22; *cf.* xlvii, 27). T. ברי דיסגי יוסף implies the same reading, viz., פֹּרֶה. Possibly the word was repeated here by some copyist whose eye fell on the פרת or פרי of the preceding couplet, and someone afterwards wrote אילה as a correction in the margin. The latter term may then have been substituted for פרת in Naphtali's couplet by some later transcriber from that copy. However it happened, it seems clear that such an interchange was effected. People do not shoot at vines; at harts they do. It is perhaps worth notice that a town אילון pertained to the "house of Joseph" (Judges i, 35). The expression בן איל, *a son of a hind* = a young hart, is like בן ראמים (Ps. xxix, 6). For the next line G. gives *υἱὸς ηὐξημένος μου ζηλωτός* = בן פֹּרָה לִי עָיִן. G. remembered how Joseph's brothers envied him (chap. xxxvii, 11); and so עין was strangely referred to the denominative verb עִיֵּן, to eye, look askance at (1 Sam. xviii, 9). J.'s *et decorus aspectu* = עדי עין, is interesting as an attempt at textual correction (עדי, Ezek. xvi, 7). S. partly agrees with G. and J., and then points עֲלִי עין, *go up, O fountain!* a reminiscence of Num. xxi, 17, עלי באר. The next line of the Hebrew text, בנות צעדה עלי שור, starts with a grammatical anomaly, besides being discordant with what precedes and follows. *Daughters march* (Judges v, 4; 2 Sam. vi, 13), or, according to the Arabic use, *go*

up on the wall, makes no sense at all. G. has *υἱός μου νεώτατος· πρὸς με ἀνάστρεψον·* implying the Hebrew בני צערי עלי שוב, *my son, my little one, return to me!* (*cf.* ⁂, בני צעירי עלי שור, where we should probably restore שוב, the letters ב and ר being very similar in the Samaritan script. We have here one of the many indications of the influence of G. on the editor of ⁂). But this irrelevant reference to Jacob's yearning after his lost favourite does not help us much towards a good consecutive sense. What is wanted is something to connect the hart standing by the spring with his enemies the archers. Now שור may mean insidiari (Jer. v, 26; Hos. xiii, 7; עלי is an easy corruption of עלו, ascenderunt; and *they went up to lie in wait* supplies the link of connection we desiderate.

The two preceding terms must in some way qualify this statement; and the reading of G. (⁂) בני צערי suggests the correction במצעדו, *in his tracks* (Ps. xxxvii, 23; Prov. xx, 24; Dan. xi, 43). A broken מ might easily be read נ, and ד is constantly confused with ר. Perhaps M. should rather be corrected במצעדה (ה—=ו.) The meaning of the whole is that the hunters follow the trail of their prey to the mountain spring, and lie in wait to shoot him when he comes to drink. The restored text of the verse (22) is:

בן אילה יוסף
בן אילה עלי עין
במצעדה עלו שור:

which we render:

A young hart is Joseph,
A young hart beside a spring;
In his track they go up to lie in wait.

The verbs of the next verse (23) are grammatically consecutive to עלו; and ורבו is clearly impossible between two imperfects with strong waw: ויִרְבֻּהו would be necessary to grammar, sense, and symmetry. But רבב, *to shoot* seems doubtful (Ps. xviii, 15; *cf.* Ps. cxliv, 6, ברק; 2 Sam. xxii, 15; *see Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, June, 1886, p. 166); and G., ἐλοιδόρουν (Ex. xvii, 2) = ⁂ ויריבֻהו, J. *jurgati sunt*, is perhaps preferable. We may then translate:

They harass him, they contend with him,—
The lords of the shaft beset (*or*, assail) him:

With what result? The Hebrew text states it thus:

ותשב באיתן קשתו
ויפזו זרעי ידיו
מידי אביר יעקב
משם רעה אבן ישראל:

the strangeness of which, in view of the context, is undeniable. The hart (or the fruiting tree) appears as defending itself with a bow against hostile bowmen, and as endowed with arms and hands! The poets of the Old Testament do not deal in such confusions of metaphor; and it would be vain to seek for a parallel to this extraordinary transition from tree or animal to man. Fortunately G. has preserved traces of a text which is much more consonant to the requirements of poetical expression as well as of common sense. So far as I can see, ותשב באיתן קשתו, which is formally consecutive to the statement of the previous line, could only mean, *But his bow dwelt in a rock* (Num. xxiv, 21, איתן מושבך). G., however, gives *καὶ συνετρίβη μετὰ κράτους τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν, i.e.* ותשבר באיתן קשתם (*cf.* 1 Sam. ii, 3; Ps. xxxvii, 15, xlvi, 9; Hos. i, 5), *But their bow was shivered with might.*

The next line is represented in G. by *καὶ ἐξελύθη τὰ νεῦρα βραχιόνων χειρὸς αὐτῶν.* The enigmatical *τὰ νεῦρα*, which lacks a corresponding word in the Hebrew, may be due to a marginal **NEYPA**, *i.e.*, *νευρά*, bowstring; intended as a correction of *μετὰ κράτους*. This suggests a reading מיתר, *string*, instead of באיתן. *Καὶ ἐξελύθη* implies וירפו (2 Sam. iv, 1) instead of ויפזו; but רפה is always joined with יד, hand, never with זרוע, arm, and we want a closer parallel to ותשבר. The root פזז (2 Sam. vi, 16) therefore being inappropriate, the question is whether any synonym of שבר resembles ויפזו and וירפו sufficiently to account for both? Such a term we find in פזר, which originally meant *to split, shatter*, like the Arabic فزر; *cf.* the imprecation فزر الله ظهورهم, *Allah break their backs!* This sense of פזר also suits Ps. lxxxix, 10, 11, *Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces* (דכאת; *cf.* Job xxii, 9), *With thine arm of might thou hast shattered* (פזרת) *thy enemies!* and Ps. liii, 5, where פזר עצמות is synonymous with שבר עצמות (Ps. xxxiv, 20; Isa. xxxviii, 13), and with דכא עצמות (Ps. li, 9): *see* also Ps. cxli, 7. The Syriac ܦܙܪܘܢ may indicate that the translators conjectured ויפזרו; *see* Jer. iii, 13, and the Peshitta. The restored

stichus, ויפזרו זרעי ידם, *And the arms of their might were shattered*, is octosyllabic like its fellow. Otherwise, וידכו (=וידכאו) would be a good parallel to וישבר, and might easily have been misread וירפו.

The next line is good Hebrew and good sense: *By the hands of the Hero of Jacob.* But the closing stichus, משם רעה אבן ישראל is formally disjointed and doubtful Hebrew; and, moreover, violates parallelism, however it be pointed and translated. S. pointing מִשֵּׁם, renders: *And by the name of the shepherd of the stone of Israel*, which is certainly preferable to M. The Greek has simply ἐκεῖθεν ὁ κατισχύσας Ἰσραήλ, which might represent a reading or conjecture משם העזר ישראל. Κατισχύειν stands for עזר in 2 Chron. xiv, 11, and at least four other places. Restoring מזרע in place of משם, on the ground of parallelism, and treating the superfluous ה as an early corruption of י (ת, ל), we get the line—

מזרעי עזר ישראל
By the arms of the Helper of Israel;

which, at all events, is an adequate parallel to the second line of the quatrain. The יעזרך of the next verse, regarded as a natural repetition, slightly confirms עזר in this one. As for אבן, it was perhaps originally written in the margin by some reader who remembered אבן העזר (1 Sam. iv, 1; v, 1; vii, 12).

Thus we have recovered the verse—

But the string (?) of their bow is broken,
And the arms of their might are shattered,
By the hands of the Hero of Jacob,
By the arms of the Helper of Israel.

The construction is continued in what follows (verse 25):—

By thy father's God—may he help thee!
And by *El* Shaddai—may He bless thee
With the blessings of heaven above,
With the blessings of the Deep that coucheth underground,
With the blessings of the breasts and the womb!

The continuity of the thought and expression makes it evident that the last clause of verse 24, whatever its original wording, cannot have been a parenthesis, as it now appears in M. In the

second line we read ואל with some Hebrew codices, and 𝔐, G., S., J., instead of ואת, which violates the construction. Its occurrence here would seem to prove that אלשדי was really an ancient title of God (Ex. vi, 3), and perhaps as the source of fertility, both of the soil and of men and animals—the chief blessing in the eyes of pastoral and agricultural communities. At all events, the terms of the text agree with this view. *The blessings of heaven above* are the rains and dews (see the paraphrase of the passage in Deut. xxxiii, 13, *sqq.*) and sunshine, to which the soil owes its productiveness; *the blessings of the Deep that coucheth underground* are the springs and streams, so important in the hot East, supposed by Israel as by the old Babylonians to issue from the great subterranean ocean of "the waters under the earth" (Ex. xx, 4); while *the blessings of breasts and womb* need no further explanation (*cf.* Gen. xx, 17, 18). The well-known representation of the Ephesian Artemis even suggests a possible connection of שדי with שדים.

In verse 26 the text is again unsound. The first line ברכת אביך גברו, *Thy father's blessings tower* or *rise high* (ch. vii, 19), is apparently correct; for the ואמך, *and thy mother's*, inserted by 𝔐 and G., spoils the rhythm and weakens the sense. It perhaps originated in the καὶ μήτρας of the previous line; and in that case has passed from G. into 𝔐. But in the next line הוריעד is generally recognized as corrupt. The parallel phrase, גבעת עולם, justifies the Greek ὀρέων μονίμων = הררי עד (*see* Hab. iii, 6, where both phrases occur); as does also the imitation, Deut. xxxiii, 15, where הררי קדם is the phrase parallel to גבעת עולם. Moreover, ברכת can hardly be right in this line; for גברו על requires the specification of some high object of comparison, corresponding to תאות, apices, cacumina, in the parallel stichus, and Deut. xxxiii, 13, has ראש, top. We therefore restore מרום (Isa. xxxvii, 24), thus getting the satisfactory line—

על מרום הררי עד

which is closely parallel to its fellow member. The letters ב, מ, ת, are often confused with each other.

The closing lines present no great difficulty, until in the last Joseph is called נזיר אחיו, *the Nazirite of his brothers*. G. read נגיד *prince* (ὧν ἡγήσατο ἀδελφῶν· *cf.* 2 Sam. v, 2); but M. is preferable to this, as Joseph is not promised crown and kingdom, but might perhaps be

spoken of metaphorically as *a Nazirite*, as being a youth devoted to Jahvah and the flower and choice of his brothers (Amos ii, 11; Lam. iv, 7). *But see Addendum* 2, *p.* 191.

The whole verse may be rendered:

> Thy father's blessings shall rise
> Above the height of the eternal mountains,
> The summits of the everlasting hills:
> They shall fall to the head of Joseph,
> To the crown of the *hated* of his brothers!

Reviewing his entire blessing, we see that Joseph is contemplated, not for the most part as the youth whom envy sold into Egypt—for the archers can hardly be the ten elder brothers of the story—but as a tribe already established in his richly fruitful land, the central hill country of Palestine (*cf.* the play on the name of Ephraim, Gen. xli, 52; xlvi, 20; and the allusion to it in the word *maphreca*, xlviii, 4). It was a land of many fountains and streams, as well as of fertile pastures and cornlands; so that the image of the first line, *Joseph is a hart beside a spring*, is peculiarly appropriate (*cf.* Ps. xlii, 1). It is there that he is harassed by the archers; who, however, do not succeed in dislodging him, because the God of Israel will not have it so. The whole gist of the blessing is that Joseph shall have a fruitful land, indeed the choicest portion of the Lord's heritage, and a numerous offspring; and that the assaults of external enemies will be broken by the Hero of Israel. The "lords of the shaft go up" to the attack from the deep valley of the Jordan on the east, or from the maritime plains on the west, or through the narrow passes leading up from the Great Plain on the north (Judith iv, 6, 7).

But it is not possible to connect what is here said of Joseph with any particular occasion. We seem to have before us a long history summarised; in the course of which, at varying intervals, the archers of Philistia, of Syria, and finally of Assyria, came up against him. But though it is difficult to find any direct reference to a particular historical crisis or period in this generalized survey of Joseph's experience, we may infer something from the fact that it is thus generalized, and from the remarkable omission of all reference to the original predominance of the House of Joseph, and the subsequent rise and continuance of the separated kingdom of Ephraim. In the age of the Judges, and in fact from Joshua to Samuel, both of whom were Ephraimites, the tribe of Joseph-Ephraim is more prominent than Judah. Shiloh in Ephraim is the

religious centre, and Shechem the capital of the nation (Judges ix, 2; Josh. xxiv, 1). Ephraim claimed the hegemony in war (Judges viii, 1; xii, 1). Gideon the Manassite, who resided in Ephraim, was offered the crown after his defeat of Midian; and his bastard son, Abimelech, actually reigned three years in Shechem. But of all this we find no hint in the passage before us, which would be strange indeed if the poem belonged to the time of the Judges. And when we remember that the sceptre and the final sovereignty are promised to Judah, it seems difficult to avoid the following inferences: (1) The piece was written by a Judean author under prophetic influence, (2) not earlier than the disruption of the Davidic monarchy; (3) but not later than the invasion of Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xv, 29).

The hexasyllabic triplet about Benjamin simply characterises the tribe as warlike and predatory:—

> Benjamin will be a ravening wolf;
> At dawn he will devour prey,
> And at eve will divide spoil.

This, so far as we know, was always the case, and the prowess of the tribe may be illustrated by reference to the story of Ehud ben Gera (Judges iii, 12–30); to the prominent mention of Benjamin and his clans in the Song of Deborah (Judges v, 14); to the strange narrative of the last three chapters of Judges, and to the Homeric exploits of Saul and Jonathan. The tribe occupied a highland district, approachable only by deep ravines from the Ghôr on the east and the lowlands on the west. Hyænas and foxes gave their names to the Benjaminite towns of Zeboim and Shual (1 Sam. xiii, 17, 18); and doubtless wolves also haunted these rocky winding glens. That the tribe was given to marauding expeditions and predatory exploits appears incidentally from the fact that the murderers of Ishbosheth (Eshbaal) are called captains of גדודים, *i.e.*, robber bands (2 Sam. iv, 2; *cf.* v, 19). This again shows that we are not confined to the times of the Judges.

If now we go back to the beginning of the piece, we may find that careful criticism enables us at least to signalize corruptions and suggest more or less probable emendations of the text, even if it should fail to bring us appreciably nearer to the solution of the problem of date. Indeed this preliminary work of textual correction, by help of internal evidence such as the implications of context, the mutual coherence and dependence of statement, parallel expressions,

references and reminiscences in other parts of the Old Testament, as well as by consideration of the data of the old versions, is the principal object of this paper. The opening words (verse 1) *And he said, Gather yourselves together, that I may declare unto you what will betide you in the after times!* are most naturally taken as the author's or perhaps the Jahvist's (prose) introduction of the poem. The historian reveals at the outset his reason for embodying the piece in his work: he regards it or presents it as a prophecy or inspired forecast of the fortunes of the Twelve Tribes. In this respect, the use of the terms הגיד (Isa. xli, 26; xlii, 9; xliii, 9; xlvi, 10) and באחרית הימים (Num. xxiv, 14; Hos. iii, 5; Isa. ii, 2; Jer. xxiii, 20) is characteristic. About the source of the poem thus introduced, nothing can be said with certainty. It may, of course, have been current at the time when the Jahvist wrote, in a popular collection of national lyrics, like the Book of the Wars of Jahvah, cited in Num. xxi, 14, or the Book of the Upright, Josh. x, 13, or some other lost anthology of which the very name has perished. I see no reason, however, for ignoring the possibility that the Jahvist himself may have been the author of the piece. He may have thought it appropriate to represent the Father of the nation as thus endued at the end of his eventful career with a divine foresight of the future of his progeny. The details would naturally be taken in each case from the known traditions and circumstances of the tribe. In fact, as we have already seen, most of the utterances of the patriarch plainly concern not persons but tribal communities. The literary usage involved in such a proceeding hardly requires justification to readers familiar with the pages of Thucydides and Livy. In neither case was there the faintest intention to deceive. Our author's design rather was, in the absence of particular historical records, to suggest a conceivable and suitable conclusion to the patriarch's career, according to the ideas of his own time. It was believed, and rightly believed, that the vicissitudes of national and tribal existence were not the result of chance, but were intimately connected with moral and spiritual causes. From first to last the God of Israel held in his hands the destiny of Israel; and that destiny was always the outcome of the character and conduct of Israel, as overruled by divine grace and love. As then Jahvah foreknew the entire course of things from the beginning, it was a natural assumption that he revealed that part of it which affected the Chosen People to their ideal ancestor. The history of the Twelve Tribes is supposed to

correspond to what Jacob, speaking at once with the august authority of the First Father and with the unerring knowledge of one directly inspired by Jahvah, pronounced about their fortunes "in the after times."

The poem itself begins with verse 2:

> Come together and listen, ye sons of Jacob!
> And *hearken* unto Israel your father.

Instead of the repeated שמעו, we should have expected הקשיבו or האזינו in the second line. The Targum and Saadiah vary the verb.

The hexastich addressed to Reuben shows at once how inappropriate it is to dub the whole piece the "Blessing" of Jacob.

> Reuben! thou wast my firstborn,
> My might and the firstfruits of my manhood;
> Precedent in rank, and precedent in power!
> Lawless as a flood, keep not thy precedence!
> For thou didst climb thy father's couch:
> Then didst thou sully the bed *of thy sire.*

It is a sentence of disinheritance. Reuben is deprived of the rights of primogeniture, on account of the crime briefly chronicled in ch. xxxv. 22 (a passage which cannot have ended so abruptly in its original context). What historical facts may underlie this possibly metaphorical indication of intertribal transactions, we will not stop to inquire. The most plausible view is that of Wellhausen, which is probably familiar to most of us. Our textual uncertainties begin with the second triplet. Instead of פַּחַז, ~ reads פָּחַזְתָּ; and G., S., and J. likewise render by the past tense of a verb. We have simply pointed פֹּחֵז (Judges ix, 4; Zeph. iii, 4; Jer. xxiii, 32). The extension כמים, *like waters*, follows more naturally after a verbal form. We also point תִּוָּתַר, instead of תוֹתר (*cf.* Dan. x, 13). The hiphil of יתר is always transitive, occurring some twenty-three times besides, and always in the sense of *letting remain over*, *e.g.*, leaving food after eating, letting men survive, and twice only of *causing to abound* in goods (Deut. xxviii, 11; xxx, 9). The present text of the last line, אז חללת יצועי עלה, is certainly wrong; for (1) it lacks coherence; (2) the poetical word יצוע is always plural in the four places where it occurs again, and the

paraphrase of the Chronicler is ובחללו יצועי אביו; (3) חִלֵּל is always transitive, and יצועי is most naturally its object; and (4) instead of יצועי עלה, *my bed he climbed*, we should expect a phrase parallel to משכבי אביך, *thy father's couch*, just as חללת is parallel to עלית. Accordingly, we restore יצועי יולדך, *the bed of him that begot thee.* The letters יו, when run together, resemble ע; and דך for the same reason might be misread as ה. Thus J., *et maculasti stratum ejus*, is practically right. G., τότε ἐμίανας τὴν στρωμνὴν οὗ ἀνέβης, is also nearer the mark than M. *My bed he climbed!* as a sort of *sotto voce*, or an aside to the other sons supposed to be present, is prosaic, feebly tautologous, and without parallel in the rest of the poem.

In the strophe relating to Simeon and Levi—who alone of all the tribes are coupled together—the curse is not only implied by the general sense but formally expressed:

> Accurst be their anger, for it was fierce,
> And their fury for it was fell!
> I will disperse them in Jacob,
> And scatter them in Israel.

The disfavour here so strongly indicated again depends upon certain events recorded in the prose narrative of Genesis, and this time at greater length (ch. xxxiv; *cf.* especially Jacob's remonstrance, v. 30, J.). The subtle treachery and coldblooded cruelty of the two tribes in the massacre of Shechem seems to be the sole ground of the curse. They, therefore, are to lose their independent tribal identity, and to be scattered promiscuously among the other tribes of the Bené Israel. This would be the condition of things at the time of the composition of the poem.

In rendering the final quatrain we have only diverged from A. V. to the extent of marking the alliteration of the original; ארור אפם . . . עז ועברתם. The internal use of the same poetic device is noticeable in אחלקם ביעקב, as elsewhere.

The preceding lines may be restored as follows:—

> Simeon and Levi are very brothers:
> *They fulfilled the violence of their schemings.*
> Into their council let my soul not come;
> Into their meeting *let not my heart go down!*
> For in their anger they slew the man,
> And in their humour they houghed the ox.

The second line gives the reason why Simeon and Levi are called "brothers," *i.e.*, cognate in temper and disposition as well as in blood. But M. כלי חמס מכֵּרתיהם is more than doubtful. Even if מכרות could mean swords or daggers, the statement *Instruments of violence are their swords* is open to the objection that swords and daggers always were instruments of violence (court swords were hardly in fashion in those days); and if we adopt the rendering compacts or nuptial agreements (xxxiv, 13, *sqq.*), it may be questioned whether a marriage-contract could be called a כלי, in spite of our own legal use of the term instrument. The word always denotes a material object; and, though it occurs some three hundred and twenty times besides, is not once found in such a sense. On the other hand, the reading of ܟܠܘ, *they accomplished*, is also that of G (συνετέλεσαν), and T (עבדו); and the idea of plots and stratagems, with reference to the crafty ruse by which the two brothers fatally deceived the Canaanite chiefs, is almost demanded by the context. Simeon and Levi are brothers in guile; their schemes are lawless and cruel; the patriarch washes his hands of their nefarious conspiracies—this is what the first four lines seem to declare. Now the desired sense may be gained quite naturally by deriving the isolated מכרות either from ברה, *to dig, bore* (Ps. xl, 7), and pointing, מִכְרוֹת, מִכְרֹתָם, as the rhythm requires; or from a synonym כור (Ps. xxii, 17; G ὤρυξαν), if we must needs point מכֵּרות. The verb ברה is used in the required metaphorical sense, Ps. vii, 16; Prov. xvi, 27, "The man of Belial digs," *i.e.*, devises "mischief:" *cf.* חָפַשׂ, חָפַס, *to dig, search*, and then *devise* (Ps. lxiv, 6). Otherwise we might accept De Dieu's reference to the Arabic ܟܪ, *to practise deceit, guile, lay plots*, etc. (*see* Lane; and *cf.* Ethiop. ፈከረ: exploravit, dolum struxit, tentavit), and still point מִכְרוֹת. The stichus כלו חמס מכרתם is heptasyllabic, like that which precedes it.

In the fourth line we restore אל יחת כבֵדי, *let not my liver go down!* for אל תחד כבדי. G has τὰ ἥπατά μου, and T S read תחת or יחת for the uncertain תחד (Isa. xiv, 20 only), which ܟ replaces by יחר = G ἐρίσαι. (כבד, *liver*, should also be restored in Ps. xvi, 9; lvii, 9, and elsewhere, as being, like the Assyrian *kabattu*, a synonym of terms denoting mind, heart, disposition.)

נחת, as a verb of motion, is a better parallel to בוא than יחד, *to be united;* and the construction is different in Isa. xiv, 20.

Judah, the royal tribe of the house of David, is the first to be addressed in terms of entire approval.

> Judah ! thee—let thy brothers laud thee !
> Thy hand *clutch* the nape of thy foes !
> Thy father's sons bow down to thee !

The fine assonance of יהודה . . . יודוך . . . ידך can hardly be preserved in a translation. We suggest תאחז as predicate to ידך; *cf.* Job xvi, 12. This restores the metrical balance of the triplet.

The triplet is followed by two quatrains and a sextet or hexastich. The first quatrain is thus rendered in R.V. :—

> Judah is a lion's whelp ;
> From the prey, my son, thou art gone up :
> He stooped down, he couched as a lion,
> And as a lioness ; who shall rouse him up ?

A question arises as to the meaning of the second line, M. מטרף בני עלית. It is generally assumed that the figure is that of a lion descending from the mountains (Cant. iv, 8) to seek prey in the valleys, and then "going up" again to his lair, where he is secure from molestation. Such, no doubt, was Judah's safe position in the hill country which he had won for himself so early in the period of the conquest (Judges i, 19). And we might suppose an intentional contrast between the sensual behaviour of Reuben and the martial vigour of Judah, in the use of the same word עלית, *thou wentest up*, as addressed to each in turn. But if the above were the writer's real meaning, the word *mountains* would probably have been expressed either in the line itself or at least in the context, neither of which is the case. The G. ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης, *from a shoot, my son, thou grewest up* (*cf.* ch. viii, 11, where טָרָף is rendered κάρφος, *twig;* and for עלה, ch. xli, 5), hardly suits the context, Judah being compared to a lion immediately before and after. Coherence of thought is restored if we render, *On prey, my son, thou grewest up, i.e.*, wast nurtured (*cf.* Ezek. xix, 2, 3; Job iv, 11); or we might correct לִטְרֹף, and

translate, *To ravin, my son, thou wentest up* (Judges i, 1, *sqq.*). But the palpable imitation, Deut. xxxiii, 22, *Dan is a lion's whelp; He springeth from Bashan*, suggests that מטרף also covers a local determinative, perhaps מערב, *from the desert* (*cf.* Hab. i, 8; Zeph. iii, 3; Jer. 5. 6). In the ancient writing ע and ט (O ⊕) might have been confused, as indeed they are in Deut. xxxiii, 13 (מטל for מעל). We thus get the stanza:—

A lion's whelp is Judah;
From the waste, my son, thou wentest up!
He crouched, he couched, as a lion,
And as a lioness—who durst rouse him?

See Judges i, 4, 16, 19. The use of עלה in that chapter seems to illustrate its meaning here. The perfects may be prophetic.

We have reached the great crux of the oracle about Judah, and indeed of the entire poem. The Hebrew text is:—

לא יסור שבט מיהודה
ומחקק מבין רגליו
עד כי יבא שילה
ולו יקהת עמים:

The first two lines are fairly clear. They appear to say:—

Sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor staff of rule from before him;

that is, Judah shall enjoy in his mountain land the independent sovereignty already foreshadowed in the opening triplet. Zech. x, 11, cited above, presents a parallel to the first line. G. Οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδά may indicate the false readings יסוף for יסור (*cf.* שוב for שור, v. 22; and Ps. lxxiii, 19, ספו = ἐξέλιπον) and שליט (ch. xlii, 6 = ἄρχων) for שבט, but in the same general sense. For the next line G gives καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, J. *et dux de femore ejus; cf.* ch. xlvi, 26, where יצאי ירכו = οἱ ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ. This indicates in what sense G understood the text, but hardly a different reading, as היצאת מבין רגליה is rendered τὸ ἐξελθὸν διὰ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτῆς, Deut. xxviii, 57. The Chronicler seems to have understood the line in the same way; *see* 1 Chron. v, 2, where the brief ולנגיד ממנו is as clearly a paraphrase of ומחקק מבין רגליו, as כי יהודה גבר

מאחיו is of ישתחוו לך בני אביך. But evidently מבין רגליו, which is parallel to מיהודה in the former stichus, depends on יסור; and מחקק is not *leader* or *marshal* (Judges v, 14; Isa. xxxiii, 22), but synonymous with שבט, as the parallelism requires (Num. xxi, 18; *cf.* Ps. xxiii, 4). As בין רגליה means *before her, at her feet* (Judges v, 27), מבין רגליו here will similarly denote *from before him;* referring to the actual position of the long staff, grasped in the right hand, as the chief walks or stands still; and מבין רגליו is said rather than מבין ידיו (*cf.* Arab. بين يديه, *between his hands, i.e.*, before him), because it is not a short sceptre that is really meant, but a long staff reaching to the ground; *cf.* , the common Egyptian hieroglyph for *urà*, great man, chief, and the long staff held by Bedāwi sheikhs and headmen of villages in the East at this day.

The difficulty of the following couplet centres in the enigmatical שילה, for which some MSS. and ⁓ read, and the versions imply, שלה. The ordinary text עד כי יבא שילה can only mean *Until he* (Judah) *come to Shiloh* (1 Sam. iv, 12), which is unsatisfactory, if only on the ground that Shiloh was an Ephraimite, never the Judean sanctuary. It would be better to emend שלם, *to Salem*, i.e. Jerusalem (ch. xiv, 8; Ps. lxxvi, 2). David's reign over all Israel is dated from his entry into Jerusalem (2 Sam. v, 5, *sqq.*), which then became the capital of the united kingdom (*cf.* also 2 Sam. vii, 10). There are other instances of confusion between מ and ה at the end of words. In Jer. xli, 5 (G. xlviii, 5) M. שלו, Shiloh, is Σαλήμ, Salem, in the Greek; an instance of the reverse confusion. But a local proper name is suspicious, standing thus alone in strange contrast to the vague indefiniteness of the rest of the poem. שָׁלֵם or שָׁלֹם might therefore be regarded as a secondary predicate, and the line might be rendered, *Until he come home unscathed;* Judah being personified—like Benjamin in Judges v, 14—as a warrior who goes forth to battle in the common cause (Judges i, 1, 2); *cf.* the phrase ויבא יעקב שלם, ch. xxxiii, 18, and Ahab's words עד באי בשלום (1 Kings xxii, 27); also Amos i, 6, 9; Nahum i, 12. Moreover, the term יבא reminds us of תבאנו in Deut. xxxiii, 7:—

Hear, Jahvah, the cry of Judah;
And unto his people bring him home!

(ואל עמו תבאנו); where the expression עמו may very well denote the folk left at home, and anxiously awaiting the return of their warriors from the field. At all events, the striking similarity between עד כי יבא שלה and תבאנו ואל עמו can hardly be accidental. Indeed שלה (or לשלה), *to that which belongs to him* (= אל עמו), may, after all, be right; in which case we might render, *Until he come to his own.* The Song of Deborah, which, in other respects, has served the author as a model, sufficiently authenticates the ancient poetical use of the relative particle ש (Judges v, 7). Is it possible that John i, 11, *εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθε*, depends on this view of the passage?

The versions, however, make שלה the subject of יבא. Thus the Targum renders, עד דייתי משיחא דדיליה היא מלכותא, *Until the Messiah come whose is the kingdom*, and the Peshitta, *Until he come whose it is* (so also Saadiah); as if the Hebrew were עד כי יבא שֶׁלֹּה הוא, *Until he come to whom it* (the sceptre) *belongeth.* The Latin, *Donec veniat qui mittendus est*, conjectures שלוח (שלֻח) instead of שלה. The Greek *ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ*, with the variants *ᾧ* or *ὃ ἀπόκειται*, need not imply any difference from M., except the pointing שֶׁלָּה (= אשר לו). *Τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ* = *ὃ ἀπόκειται* (*αὐτῷ*) = אשר לו, *that which is*, or *shall be*, *his.* The correction *ᾧ ἀπόκειται* involves the interpretation of the oriental versions, and requires the addition of the demonstrative הוא to the received text.

On the other hand, *κεῖμαι* and its compounds are somewhat rare in G. For *ἀπόκειται*, *see* Deut. xxxii, 34; Job xxxviii, 23; where the words it represents are quite different. And elsewhere אשר לו is simply *τὰ αὐτοῦ* (*e.g.*, ch. xxiv, 2). Possibly therefore, *ἀπόκειμαι* in our passage indicates a various reading, as Professor Cheyne has suggested. In 2 Sam. xiii, 32, היתה שימה = G. *ἦν κείμενος*, and Symmachus gives *κεῖται* for ישים in Job xxxiv, 23. This suggests that G. may have had לה שם before it; and as ש, מ resemble each other in the ancient writing (שמ), שם לה was perhaps a pre-Septuagintal corruption of משלה. The omission of one of the similar letters would account for the reading שלה. All this, however, is very precarious, inasmuch as G. may be only

paraphrastic of M., and שלה (ܫܠܐ) may almost equally well represent the remains of an original מלכה (ܡܠܟܐ). In either case, the passage strongly reminds us of Zech. ix, 9, הנה מלכך יבוא לך, *Behold, thy king will come to thee!* and the suggestion of relation is strengthened by the context of both passages: *cf.* the expressions עירה, בני אתנו (v. 11) with על חמור ועל עיר בן אתנות (Zech. *l.c.*); and our next line, ולו יקהת עמים, with Zechariah's, ודבר שלום לגוים, which is followed by a definition of the extent of the king's dominion (משלו). It is worth while also to compare Jer. xxx, 21, והיה אדירו ממנו ומשלו מקרבו יצא; Micah v, 1; and iv, 8, ובאה הממשלה הראשנה, as well as the suffrage, "Thy kingdom come!"

That the Greek translators, like those of the other versions, understood the passage in a Messianic sense, is evident from their peculiar rendering of the last line of the quatrain. They in fact seem to substitute והוא תקות עמים for ולו יקהת עמים (G., *καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν*, *cf.* Job xiv, 7, תקוה, Symmachus, *προσδοκία*· Lam. ii, 16). J. follows, with *Et ipse erit expectatio gentium.*

Keeping the Hebrew text of this line, we might render the couplet—

> Until he come home *unscathed* (*or*, to his own),
> Having the submission of peoples.

But a verb would seem more natural in place of יקהת, which is only vouched for by the phrase יקהת אם, *obedience to a mother*, Prov. xxx, 17. Accordingly, ܣ alters to יקהתו, a vox nihili, for which the Sam. Targum gives יתנגדון, *will be drawn* or *led.* The Targum of Onkelos has ישתמעון, *will obey; cf.* Kautzsch and Socin's *und die Völker sich ihm unterwerfen.* Saadiah's *And unto him the peoples gather*, suggests the highly interesting reading יִקָּווּ; *see* Jer. iii, 17, where the Arabic renders ונקוו by the same verb which it uses here (اجتمع). As the Greek version elsewhere confuses קִוָּה, *to wait* or *hope for*, with נקוה, *to gather together*, *e.g.*, in Jer. viii, 15, and Micah, v, 6 (7), it is quite possible that *καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν* here is a paraphrase of an original ולו יִקָּווּ עמים. This is confirmed by the Syriac ܘܠܗ ܢܣܒܘܢ ܥܡܡܐ, *and*

for him the peoples wait (pointing יְקַוּוּ for יִקָּווּ *cf.* v. 18 Syr.). The whole quatrain might thus be a direct prophecy of the Messiah-king:

> The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
> Nor the rod of rule from before him,
> Until *his King* shall come,
> And to Him the peoples *gather!*

Such perhaps was the way in which the text was read and understood by the author of the beautiful prophecy, Zech. *l.c.* It is obvious that if it be substantially or approximately correct, the poem must be assigned to the period of the literary prophets. On the other hand—

> The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
> Nor the rod of rule from before him,
> Until he come home unscathed (*or*, to his own)
> Having the submission of peoples!

seems to agree better with the context. It is only after Judah's warfare has ended in victory that he can "tether his ass colt to the vine, The foal of his she ass to the choice vine," and enjoy the profuse plenty of his fair land of vineyards and pastures. It also also agrees better with Judah's blessing in Deut. xxxiii, 7, which is simply a prayer for victory and conquest (the third line may be thus restored—

> ידך תרב לו Let thine hand contend for him! *or*
> ידו הָרֶם לו, His hand lift up for him!

cf. Ps. lxxxix, 13, 43; Micah v, 8; Deut. xxxii, 27; Exod. xvii, 11, *sqq.*).

Little remains to be said of the closing hexastich (vv. 11, 12), which in striking metaphor depicts the tribe as a happy prodigal, in careless enjoyment of the good gifts of the soil. In verse 2 we read כסותה with ⁓, instead of the mutilated סותה of M., which is found nowhere else. G. confirms the correction with τὴν περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ (*cf.* Exod. xxii, 26, כסותה = περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ); and S. has תכסית in both places.

Addendum 1 (p. 176). Τὰ νεῦρα, perhaps = גידי, a corruption of זרעי. In that case, βραχιόνων χειρὸς αὐτῶν is a conflate reading.

Addendum 2 (p. 179). A learned friend's objection that even a metaphorical reference to the peculiar institution of Naziritism is surprising in this context, has led me to reconsider the closing line of Joseph's blessing. I would now suggest the correction נזור, in the sense "hated of," or "estranged from:" *cf.* the term זר, and the Assyrian *zāru*, *izīr*, to hate. The form, no doubt, would be a *semel dictum* in this sense; but so is the hophal מוזר in Ps. lxix, 9, which may be regarded as a parallel and perhaps imitative passage. The same correction would, of course, have to be made in Deut. xxxiii, 16. Perhaps, however, it may be thought safer to retain נזיר in both passages, as a nominal formation from the same root זור, זיר, to hate, and in much the same sense; *cf.* נזיד from זוד.

Addendum 3 (p. 183). As Judah is a lion, Benjamin a wolf, Dan a serpent, Joseph a hart, Issachar an ass, it is possible that Simeon and Levi are not אַחִים, brothers, but אֹחִים, hyenas (Isa. xiii, 21). It is but the difference of a point; and the title agrees with the actual meaning of Simeon (שמעון; *cf.* צבעון; and Arab. سِمْع a hybrid between wolf and hyena).

NOTE ON LENGTH AND BREADTH IN EGYPTIAN.

By P. le Page Renouf.

In a short review which appeared in the *Academy*, 4 May, 1895, I introduced a paradox about the Egyptian words for length and breadth, in the hope of eliciting a contradiction. But by the omission (which I only recognised after publication) of a couple of words. my paradox will I fear have had the appearance of an error. I might easily have supported my criticism by the authority of the book reviewed, but I purposely quoted authorities which seemed to contradict me, though they do not really do so. The fact is that both and signify length in the geometrical sense. But in what direction? I conceive to apply to what lies straight before the spectator, in a picture or plan, and to what runs at right angles to that.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. le Page Renouf.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

Chapter whereby one cometh to the Divine Circle of Osiris.

My soul buildeth for me a Hall (1) in Tattu and I flourish in Pu.

My fields are ploughed by those who belong to me: therefore is my palm tree like Amsu.

Abominations, abominations, I eat them not. I abominate filth, I eat it not.

[Peace offerings are my food, by which I am not upset.]

I approach it not with my hands; I tread not upon it with my sandals; for my bread is of the white corn and my beer of the red corn of the Nile.

It is the Sektit boat, or it is the Atit boat, which bringeth them to me, and I feed upon them under the foliage of the Tamarisk. (2)

I know how beautiful are the arms which announce Glory for me (3) and the white crown which is lifted up by the divine Uræi.

O thou Gate-keeper of him who pacifieth the world, let that be brought to me of which oblations are made, and grant that the floors may be a support for me, and that the glorious god may open to me his arms, and that the company of gods be silent whilst the Hammemit (4) converse with me.

O thou who guidest the hearts of the gods, protect me and let me have power in heaven among the starry ones.

And every divinity who presenteth himself to me, be he reckoned to the forerunners of Rā: be he reckoned to the forerunners of Light and to the Bright ones who deck the sky amid the Mighty ones.

Let me have my will there of the Bread and Beer with the gods; that I enter through the Sun-disk and come forth through the Divine Pair, that the gods who follow may speak to me, and that Darkness and Night may be terrified before me in Mehit-urit, by the side of him "Who is in his Sanctuary."

And lo I am here with Osiris. My measure is his measure (5) among the mighty ones. I speak to him the words of men and I repeat to him the words of gods.

There cometh a glorified one, equipped, who bringeth Maāt to those who love her.

I am the Glorified one and the Equipped. And better equipped am I than any of the Glorified.

NOTES.

1. *Hall* , , , or *ḥent*, the πρόναος, πρόδομος, 'Vorsaal,' first room of a temple or palace. The sense of *harîm* which has been ascribed to it in certain texts is entirely erroneous. The temple inscriptions (see Brugsch, *Zeitschr.*, 1875, p. 118, and fol., and Mariette, *Denderah*, I, 6) leave no doubt on the subject. If there were "ladies of the royal antechamber," it by no means follows that they were wives or concubines of the king, and hall or antechamber convey a very different idea from that of the most reserved portion of the house.*

Pictures and inscriptions on mummy cases identify the term mythologically with that portion of the sky whence the first rays of the rising sun are visible.

The mention of the word in the Pyramid Texts (*Pepi*, I, 672) is in connection with the notion of food, .

* The mentioned in the tablet of Pa-shere-en-Ptah are not concubines, as Brugsch and others have thought, but female children, as Birch rightly asserted. Cf. my *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 79, note. It is the feminine form of .

There is also another word, , applied on the walls of tombs to persons (*male* as well as female) executing certain gymnastic movements.

2. We have here a repetition of passages to the same effect as in Chapters 53 (A and B) and others. The Pyramid Texts (*Teta*, 344) have a section nearly identical.

3. *The arms which announce Glory for me.* The clue to the meaning of this passage is to be found in , which is a *relative* form implying an antecedent, which can only be "the arms."

The *arms which announce Glory for me* are to be explained by the usages of the ancient ritual, which prescribed certain postures or attitudes in the ceremony of , as in other forms wherein the arms played a great part. These religious ceremonies, it must always be remembered, were considered as dramatic representations of what was done in the invisible world.

4. *The Hammemit,* , or , the generations of human beings yet unborn.

5. *My measure is his measure.* The meaning of or can only be inferred from the form which occurs repeatedly in the great Harris Papyrus and some other documents.

The scribe of the Turin *Todtenbuch* carelessly omitted the second part of the phrase, and therefore altered the grammatical construction. This is how M. Pierret came to conjecture the sense 'proclaim,' which is not suggested by any of the ancient authorities, or even by the later ones. The reading of the Leyden Papyrus T, 16 is identical with that of the oldest papyrus.

TWO MONUMENTS WITH A VOTIVE FORMULA FOR A LIVING PERSON.

Dr. A. Wiedemann.

So little notice is taken of the fact, that of the so-called funeral monuments, especially the stelæ, many are found, the inscriptions of which prove that they were votive objects not for the dead but for living persons, even although the formula is composed for the *Ka* of the person. As on the objects of offering for the dead, the inscriptions on these pieces are composed after fixed formulæ, of which one is found on the two following monuments—a third example of the same formula was published by myself, *Rec. de trav. rel.*, etc., XVII, p. 13.

1. Fragment of a stela, rounded at the top, calcarious stone. Geneva, Musée Fol. 1305. A man incenses before an altar, behind which sits a goddess, the [hieroglyph] between the cow-horns on the head and [hieroglyph] and [hieroglyph] in the hands. Above, in four vertical lines: (1) [hieroglyphs] (*sic*) (2) [hieroglyphs] (3) [hieroglyphs] (4) [hieroglyphs], "Royal offering to Hathor, the lady of Ḥetep (?), the lady of the heaven; may she give life, welfare, health, insight, praise, love, an agreeable old age, an agreeable life to the *Ka* of [Amen ?]-ḥāt."

2. Water basin, calcarious stone, diameter 27 m Geneva University Museum, D. 59. Inscription at the upper edge, to the left: [hieroglyphs] (*sic*) [hieroglyphs], "Royal offering to Anuki, the lady of Sati (?); may she give a good lifetime without evil to the *Ka* of the setem Maā in the place of Truth Ḥuī." To the right: [hieroglyphs] (*sic*) [hieroglyphs], "Royal offering to Anuki, the lady of the heaven, the mistress of the two lands; may she give life, welfare, health, insight to the *Ka* of Ḥui." The sign

is written on the original only once, the two inscriptions join in it. It is curious how differently the word *sept ḥer* is written in these texts, the first sign having the forms , or .

As no designation of relationship is given, it is impossible to decide to whom of the âst Maā functionaries with the name Ḥui (*cf.* Maspero, *Rec. de trav. rel.*, etc., II, 187, *sq.*) this basin belonged. A hitherto unknown man with the same title appears on a small rudely worked stela in the same Museum at Geneva, D. 54, rounded at the top, 27 ^{m} high, 19^{cm} large. Here a standing man (1) (2) (3) adores the standing divinities and . In the name of Isis the writing for , which brings to mind the time of Chu-en-âten, is remarkable. Below a man and a woman are sitting before an altar. They are called and , but the reading of these signs is very difficult from the circumstance that the stone had been used at an earlier time for another representation, which was not quite erased when the actual text was inscribed.

The style of the last monument calls to mind the style of stela D. 55 of the same Museum (26^{cm} high, 19^{cm} large), though the workmanship of the latter is better. Near an altar is seated a goddess, behind her stands a large nosegay; the inscription above has been destroyed, only (?) remains of the first vertical line Below two women, of which the first sacrifices a vase, are kneeling; a vertical inscription says: (1) (2) (*sic*) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) . The reading of the name of Horus of Edfu, which forms a part of the name of the first woman, has changed several times in these last years. The older reading was Ḥuṭ, it is retained by Lanzone (*Diz. di mit.*, p. 668), and Maspero (*Hist. anc.*, p. 100). Renouf (*Proc.*, VIII, p. 144; *cf.* XIII, p. 316; not Erman, who proposed only (*Aeg. Z.*, 1882, p. 8) to read

Bḥdti instead of Bḥdt), pronounces on the authority of a demotic variant Beḥuṭet.* Erman (*Aeg. Z.*, 29, p. 63) thought that the name was to be spelt Dbḥti, because some inscriptions of the old empire gave for the word the variant and similar forms.† These variants, refered to by Erman, are very well known,‡ and they will have induced Birch (*Egypt. Galleries of the Brit. Mus.*, I (1874), p. 23) to give as a name of the winged disk side by side with Hut Tebhut, § but for the right spelling of the god-name they are not decisive: is a polyphone sign; it is therefore necessary to prove for each word, in which it is found, the specially suited reading, and it is of no importance whether in other words it was spelled thus or otherwise. As Mr. Renouf has shown, that Horus of Edfu was called Ḥer beḥuṭet; we have to retain this reading as certain, and have no reason to introduce another name for the god or for his town.

As regards the origin of the name, I think, we must remember, that in a magical papyrus at Leyden || is found the bird-name , which is related to the radical , "to cut, kill, hunt," and denotes a bird of prey. Brugsch thought, perhaps, "the vulture"; a more exact translation would be "hawk," in remembrance of the reference of Horapollo, I, 7, that βαιηϑ (*cf.* Copt. ϩⲁⲓⲧ, *accipiter*) is a designation of the hawk, and that this word is formed of βαι, "soul" (*ba*), and ηϑ, "heart" (*ḥāti*, *ḥeti*), which would give a form for the Egyptian word. Horus was therefore called Beḥudet, in consequence of his incarnation as a hawk, and his town Edfu received its name as the town belonging to the hawk-god.

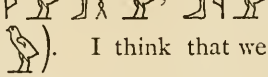
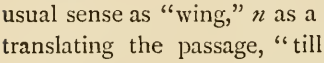
* *Cf.* Téquier, *Note sur quelques rois de la 12e dyn.*, p. 2. Mr. Piehl has found, as he stated at the Congress of Orientalists at Geneva, some hieroglyphic variants giving the same reading.

† It is curious to note, that already before the appearance of the article of Erman, Mr. Krebs (*Wochenschr. für Klass. Philol.*, VIII, p. 149), writes: "already a long time it is known, that the right name is not Hor beḥudet, but Hor debeḥti."

‡ *Cf.* p. ex., *Levi*, *Diz.*, V, 23, and specially the name in Leps. *D.*, II, 35–7, and de Rougé, *Six prem. dyn.*, p. 64.

§ *Aeg. Z.*, 1874, p. 65. Birch gave on the authority of other variants the reading Tebat.

|| Pl. II, l. 4; *cf.* Pleyte, *Études égypt.*, p. 25.

It appears to me, that the same bird is quoted also in *Todtenbuch*, cap. 55,* where it is said: "I convey breezes in presence of the Glorious One to the ends of the sky, to the ends of the earth, (the text of Naville gives at the end  ; in Pa is only an error in copying, for ). I think that we have to take here† *šu-t* in its most usual sense as "wing," *n* as a sign of the genitive, *beḥu(t)* as "hawk," translating the passage, "till to the wings of the (Horus) hawk." "The wings of the sun," Horus of Edfu being a sun-god, are used in these words to mean "the utmost ends of the world" (*cf.* for the idea, Psalm cxxxix, 9), and the whole is in parallelism with the ends of the sky, or of the earth, spoken of just before.

THE GRANGE,
NORTHWOOD,
MIDDLESEX.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS, *April 2nd*, 1894.

The bronze figure described by Mr. F. L. Griffith in the January No. of the "Proceedings" reminds me of a bronze figure of Isis (?) which I possess. The figure is 7 inches high from the feet to the top of the head, and the horns and disc add another inch. Below the feet is a "tang" about an inch long. The whole of the front of the head, face, neck, and ears, are covered with a thin plate of silver. At the back of the head the silver is worn away, and the elaborate wig, which descends to the shoulders, is visible.

The position of the hands: the right raised in deprecation, and the left with the fingers clenched and the thumb extended, is very unlike that of any other figure of Isis I have seen. I send you a photograph, which you may like to re-produce.

Yours truly,

WALTER L. NASH.

* Goodwin (*Aeg. Z.*, 1866, p. 54) found the Chapter LV in a more developed form in the *Todtenbuch* of Queen Mentuḥetep; a fact proving it to be a very ancient text.

† For other explanations of the passage, *cf.* Birch in Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, V, p. 203, 377; Renouf, *Proceedings*, XV, p. 289, *seq.*; Pierret left the words untranslated; Budge, *The Papyrus of Ani*, p. 96.

BRONZE FIGURE OF ISIS, THE HEAD COVERED WITH SILVER.

IN THE COLLECTION OF WALTER L. NASH, ESQ.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY PROFESSOR DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.

§ 6. SCHEIL in his excellent "Notes d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie Assyriennes," § XXI (*Recueil*, XVII, p. 81), communicates an Aramaic inscription of a Perso-Aramaic cylinder ("au centre, une porte cintrée, grillée en losanges, et aux rebords rayonnants—peut-être la porte du Soleil levant"), consisting only in these words:

לעלנסחמלכי

"où la première lettre est bien la préposition d'attribution, Malki, d'autre part, n'offrant pas de difficultés; il n'en est pas de même de *'alonsaḫ*, qui n'offre aucun sens."

Who would not think here of the Cossæan town *Bît-Kilamsaḫ*, well known from the inscriptions of Sennacherib? Kilam-saḫ seems to be the founder of this town, and the name is composed of an element *kilam*, *ghilam* (עלם, which before the dental sibilant becomes עלנ, *ghilan*), with which may be compared *ulam-*, in Ulamburias, etc.,* the name of the Elamitic god *Saḫ*, or the Sungod (compare above, "la porte du Soleil levant"). I translate therefore: "to Ghilan-saḫ, my king." The mere fact that we here find a Cossæan king with a name of pure Cossæan-Elamitic origin in the Persian time, is of the highest historical value.

§ 7. In the contract-tablets of the later kings of Ur we read: *mu Gamil-Sin lugal-î ma-da Za-ab-ša-li(-ki) mu-gul*, "in the year when Gamil-Sin, the king, the land Zabshali attacked," and: *mu dur-*

* A similar name is *Ilinzash*, the name of a fortress in the Median country Bit-Barru, which Sennacherib conquered, and to which he gave the new name Kar-Sinacherib. I would have compared this name with עלנסח, but it seems originally a local name, whilst Kilamsaḫ (in Bit-K.) is evidently the name of a king, as is the case with עלנסח.

sal lugalla pa-ti-si Za-ab-ša-li-ki ba-tuk, "in the year when the daughter of the king became vice-queen of Zabshali" (SCHEIL, "Notes d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie Assyriennes," *Recueil*, XVII, p. 37 f.). Now we meet in the Gudea-inscription statue B, 6, 3 ff., the phrase:

Sha-ma-num ghar-sag Me-nu-a-ta, [illegible] *-šal-la ghar-sag Mar-tu-ta tag na-gal im-ta-dul-du, na-rù-a-ku mu-gim*

i.e., from Shamanu in the mountains of Menua (Μανυάς in Armenia, see Nic. Damasc. in Joseph. Antiq., 1, 3, 6), from Sub-šal-la in the mountains of Martu, nagal stones he has caused to be brought, in slabs he has caused them to be cut.

This Sub-šalla must be the same region as Zabšali in the contract tablets of the time of the later kings of Ur.

Concerning the sign [illegible], it is known that it has the two values *sub* and *mu*. The same sign seems to be found in an inscription of Sargon of Agadi, HILPRECHT, pl. 2, col. i, 7: *šub-ú-la-ti Bêli*, "the subjects (otherwise *ba-ú-la-ti*) of the god Bel" (compare *ušbîl*, *ušpîl*, shafel of *ba'âlu*).

§ 8. The etymology of the words עֵילָם, אוּלָם, עוֹלָם, and Babyl. *illamu*. The Babylonian *illamu* signifies, "what is in front of" (locally), as also temporally "before"; *e.g.*, *illamû'a*, "in front of me," "opposite to me," but also "before me." As a substantive, it must have had the sense of "entrance hall"; in this meaning the Hebrews borrowed the word as אֵילָם (such is the better reading, instead of אוּלָם, compare LXX αἴλαμ). An abbreviation of *illam* is *lam*, *e.g. lam abûbi*, "before the flood." Etymologically the Hebrew עוֹלָם, "time of old," "eternity," corresponds to this Babyl. *illamu*. We have quite the same development in the word *ḳudmu* (in Babyl. also a synonym of God, "the primeval"), Hebr. קדם (opposite אחר, "what is behind," and then, "what is coming," "future," compare Arab. al-âkhiratu).

Also *Elamtu*, Hebr. עֵילָם, seems to me originally "the land in front of (Babylonia)," the East land, as opposed to *Amurrû*, "the West land" (Synon. Martu, the land of the Amorites, for Amartu). It is true, that the ideograph for Elamtu, *Nim-ki*, is generally explained by the Babylonians themselves as "Highland" (*nim* = *îlû* and

šaḳû); but for the Babylonians the conceptions, "in front of" and "above" were almost identical; compare 3 R. 43, *pûtu îlû šadû*, opposite *pûtu šaplû amurrû*.

Quite another origin must be ascribed to the Hebr. particle אוּלָם, אֻלָּם, "notwithstanding," "but," οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ, which I think a secondary derivation of אוּלַי (Babyl. *ulai*), "perhaps," "or," "or when"; it has nothing to do with the Babyl. loanword אֵיוּלָם, "entrance hall."

PAUL DE LAGARDE, in his "Uebersicht," p. 115, compared with עוֹלָם the Arabic عَيْلَم "the water upon which is the earth," "the sea," "water covered in the earth, beneath layers of the earth." Here the Arabs preserved a "primeval" mythological remembrance of the oldest times of the earth, the chaos; "time of old" (עולם), and "chaos" are synonyma.

§ 9. An overlooked Palaestinian letter of the Amarna period.

One of the most interesting historical texts is 4 R. 34, No. 2.* I give in the following a transcription, not venturing to add a translation, in sight of so many obscure expressions. The text runs: *A-na-ku ul ak-ru-bak-kam-ma* (or *akrubakamma?*) *ša gur-ru-bi-ia* (or *kurrubîa?*) *ug-tar-ri-bak-kam-ma* (or *uktarribakamma?*) *a-na ṣu-ḥi-i-ri ša šarrâni ša li-mi-ti-ka il-tak-nu-ka-ma*

(2 = 41) *u a-mi-ni dib-bu-ku-nu a-na šá-šar-ra-bi-i maš-lu šu-ma ša at-ta taš-pu-ra um* [-ma?]: *ištu ištin ûmi ina alu Zaḳ-ḳa-lu-ú tu-ki-i-an-ni*

(3 = 42) *im-ma-ti ša-pa-a-ru ša mun-tal-ku-tu u li-ʾi-u-ti šu-ma u ḳu-un-nu-tu* (or: *ḳu-un-nu aš-šu?*, or *ḳu-un-nu ina ḳat?*) *arad Aššur-šuma-uštîšir*

(4 = 43) *ša it-ti bi-li-šu iṭ-ru-du-niš-šum-ma a-na mâti an-ni-ti il-li-kam-ma abu-u-a u-sa-ta i-pu-ša-aš-šum-ma*

(5 = 44) *a-na mati-šu ú-tir-ru-šu ul-tu at-ta Ḫar-bi-ši-pak Ḫa-bir-ai ṭi-ma ta-šak-ka-nu šu-u ina pa-ni-ka u šu-us* (from *šasû*, to speak?) *u ip-pa-lam a-gan-na*

(6 = 45) [*i-*] *ḳab-bi* (or *ta-ḳab-bi?*) *um-ma a-kit-tam-ma* (adverb? written [illegible]) *iš-tin ûma ina alu Zaḳ-ḳa-lu-u u-ki-ia-an-na-ši ina lib-bi-ku-nu man-nu ki-i šarri ma ṭi-ma i-šak-*[*ka-an?*]

* Compare my "Geschichte," p. 156, and 432 f.; TIELE, "Geschichte," p. 145. HALEVY, "Journ. Asiat.," 1891, November to December, p. 547.

(7 = 46) . . . . . *Bel-matâti lim-ḳu-tam-ma dib-bu ša mat Aššur a-na ša-šar-ra-bi-í lu-u maš-lu u ina pi-i a-ḫa-miš dib-bi li-* . . . . . (or *lu-bi-li* . . . . . .)

(8 = 47) . . . . . *di-ba-ni u ina mati-šu lu-u a-šib ul-tu a-na mat Akkad-ki il-li-ka i-na bu-ni šu-u iḫ-ḫi-* . . . . . .

(9 = 48) . . . . . *-lik-ma Nindar-tuklât-Aššur bîlu-šu ina mati an-ni-ti ik-ka-li Nindar-tuklât-Aššur ša a-na bî-lu-ti-šu* . . . . . .

(10 = 49) . . . . . *u a-šib Nindar-tuklât-Aššur i-na la bí-lu-ti-šu ša Aššur-šuma-uštíšir Bíl matâti* (compare line 7) *im-ma-ti u-ka-* . . . . .

(11 = 50) . . . . . *-ú ul-tu abu-u-a ana mati-šu ú-tir-ru-šu ib-ni-ma dib-bi ša taš-ri-iḫ-ti i-dib-bu-bi ša taš-pu-ra um-ma a-na-ku ki-i* . . . . .

(12 = 51) . . . . . *ḳu u-paḳ-ḳu-u ṭa-ab-tam-ma ša mât Akkad(-ki) u mât Aššur* ⟶| *Ir-sagga at-ta ki-i lib-bi-ka í-pu-uš ana* (?) ⟶ *-tu-u ta-šap-pa-ra* . . . . . .

(13 = 52) . . . . . *-an-ni ma a-ḫa-miš lu-u ni-mur u ša-nu-ti-ik-ka ta-šap-pa-ra um-ma ṭa-ab-tam-ma ša mat Akkad(-ki) u mât Aššur i-ir* ⟶| . . . . . .

(14 = 53) . . . . . *-bu ša šarrâni ma-a šu-u ša a-na Ḫar-bi-ši-pak taḳ-bu-u um-ma a-ki-i ana-ku ak-* . . . . . *ma Nindar-[tuklât-Aššur]* . . .

(15 = 54) . . . . . *u a-šib* (or *u-a-šib*) *ma lu-bir ma a-ḫa-miš i ni-mur-šu-nu Nindar-tuklât-Aššur it-ti* . . . . . *ana mat Ki-[na-aḫ-ḫi?]* . . . . . .

(16 = 55) . . . . . *Nindar-tuklât-Aššur ul* ḫi-bi (*i.e.*, deletum) *ir-mu an-na i-na iḳli ul-li-ia-mi u* . . . . . *-aš-šar-* . . . . . .

(17 = 56) . . . . . *-ka-ta-ku kat-tak-tu-uš* (or *šu tak-tu-uš*) *ul-tu tak-* . . . . . .

(18 = 57) . . . . . *am* (?) *-mí-ni la tí-bi-ram-ma mi-nu-u ša* . . . . . .

(19 = 58) . . . . . [*Nindar-*]*tuklât-Aššur it-ti-ia a-na mat I-ri-ḳa-at-ta šu-* . . . . . .

(20 = 59) . . . . . [*Nindar-*]*tuklât-Aššur ki-i pi-i dib-bi-ma* . . . . . .

(21 = 60) . . . . . [*Nindar-*]*tuklât-Aššur ša taḳ-bu-u um-ma ku-lu-'u-u la zi-ka-ru šu-u* . . . . . .

(22 = 61) . . . . . *-za-tu-nu u ba-na-tu-nu Nindar-tuklât-Aššur* . . . . . .

(23 = 62) . . . . . *u i-na bu-ni ki-i pî-šu-nu am-mí-ni la ga-mir* . . . . . .

(24 = 63) . . . . . *ša taš-pu-ra um-ma* . . .
. . . . . .

(25 = 64) . . . . . *mât Aššur-ki šal-miš-ma mât Akkad-ki la iḫ-ba-[tu]*

The peculiar proper names of this text are *Aššur-šuma-uštísir*, line 3 and 10, *Nindar-tuklât-Aššur* 9, 10, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, *Ḫarbišipak* the *Khabirite* 5, 14, the names of countries and towns: *Akkad* and *Aššur* 12, 13, 25, *Zaḳḳalû* 2, 6, *Iriḳatta* 19, and perhaps *Kinaḫḫi* 15. The title *bel-matâti*, otherwise of the kings of Babylonia, is found 7 and 10, and is written [cuneiform] *kur-kur*, as it seems, in near connection with the name *Aššur-šuma-uštíšir* (perhaps the name of a still unknown king of Assyria). Or is Bel-matâti here a title of the god Nebo? Concerning *Iriḳatta*, we have here a variant of the well known Phœnician town 'Arḳa, Assyrian *Ar-ḳa-a* (Delitzsch, "Paradies," p. 282), but in the Amarna letters *Ir-ḳa-ta* (compare Bezold, "Tell el-Amarna Tablets," p. lxxii); our text gives a new instance for this Irḳata, and proves thereby and by the mention of a Khabirite, its close affinity with the Amarna letters. The name of the Khabirite, *Kharbišipak*, is Cassitic, which is of the greatest importance for the problem of the origin of the Khabirites. This people gave to the town Kiryat-Arba (Rubûti in the Amarna tablets) the new name Khebron; one of them was a certain Kudurra son of Baṣish, who is mentioned in a new-found boundary stone * close after Kharbi-Bel, perhaps the same as our Kharbi-Shipak, since Shipak is the Cossæan name of Bel-Merodakh.† It is now clear that the Khabiri cannot be the Hebrews, as some Assyriologists have supposed. The town *Zaḳḳalû* I should like to identify with "Dôr (דֹּאר of the Bible), the town of the Zakkar," which is mentioned in an Egyptian inscription *c.* 1050 B.C. (W. Max Müller, "Asien und Europa," p. 388).

Concluding this paragraph, I may be allowed to add some few philological remarks to this difficult text. Line 1, *akrubakkamma* for akruba-ka-ma, 1st sing. with the suffix pronoun of the 2nd sing. Line 2: "Since one day thou hast looked (or waited) for me in the Zakkalite town" (compare line 6, "he waited for us in the Z

* Scheil, "Recueil," XVI, p. 32; Hilprecht, "Assyriaca," p. 33, note (time of the king Marduk-akhi-irba).

† In this latter case—which is of course possible, but not yet to be exactly proved—our letter would be written in the time of the king Marduk-akhi-irba, *c.* 1065 B.C., and not in the so-called Amarna period (*c.* 1450).

town"). Line 3, *immati* (compare line 10), perhaps for *ina matî*, "when." Line 4, "the servant of Assur-šuma-uštîšir, whom with his lord they expelled (or drove away), came to this country, and my father did help him, and brought him back to his land, since thou didst make report to Kharbišipak, the Khabirite" (TIELE: since thou, O Kharbišipak, didst give advice), etc. Line 5, *u šus u ippalam; u . . . . u* perhaps "either . . . or" (either speaking or answering?). Line 6, *akittamma*, "truly"? compare *appitimma*, "henceforth." Line 7, *dibbu ša mat Aššur*, etc., compare line 2, *amîni* (why) *dibbu-kunu*, etc.; the letter seems to be written by a Babylonian high official to the Assyrians. Line 9, *ikkalî*, nifal of כלא, to retain, hold back; compare *ku-lu-'u-u*, line 21 (PI'EL). Line 11, *ultu abûa*, compare line 4, *abûa usâta ipušá-šu;* his father perhaps is the king of Babylonia. Line 12, 𒁹𒁹𒌋 *Ir-sag*, a later form for 𒁹𒁹𒌋 Ur-sag (= Nin-ib, viz. Nindar); perhaps here for *ḳarradu atta*. The expression *ṭabtamma ša mat Akkad u mat Aššur*, means "the good mutual understanding (or agreement) between Akkad and Aššur." Line 13, *i-ir*, 3 sing. of איר (DELITZSCH, Handwörterb., p. 50), to go, to come to. Line 14, perhaps *akî* (when) *anaku ak*[*rubakam*]*ma*, compare line 1. Line 16, *mi* in *ullia-mi*, the same particle (for *ma*) as in the Amarna tablets. Line 22, *banâtunu*, 2nd plur. perf. (or so-called permansive) of *banû;* compare *kakku rigma našatunu ana dakîa*, K. 9875, 3, 10 (BEZOLD, Catalogue, Vol. III, p. 1045; STRONG, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XVI, p. 279); the fem. 2nd pl., must have been *banâtina*, because of the analogy of *šunu*, *šina*, and of *kunuši*, *kinaši* (4 R., 2nd ed., 29, 4*c*; rev. 1, 13, *al-si-ki-na-ši*). Line 23, *ina buni*, compare line 8.

§ 10. In the inscription of *Agu-kak-rimi* (5 R. 33) we read, col. 2, line 36 ff—

36. *abna za-gin-kur-ra* (or *uknû šadî*, lapis lazuli)
abna su (written *ka*) *Mar-ḫa-ši arḳu*
37. *abna ḫulâl ini* (written *za-*𒁹𒁹𒁹𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒁹, *i.e.*, *za-dùn-igi*)
abna ḫulâl ṣir-gir (viz. *ṣirgarri* or *mušgarri*)
38. *abna za-dùn ḫus-simid* (𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹)
abna za-dùn 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 (otherwise *za-dùn* 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹)
39. *abna înât Mi-luḫ-ḫa* (otherwise *abnu za-sun Mi-luḫ-ḫa* or *Sándu* of Melukh)
40. *abna parûti* (written *giš-sir-gal*)

41. *abna* SAL-LA (otherwise = *ílla*) *aḳ-ra u abna ílla*
42. *ša* [cuneiform] (read [cuneiform], *šum* ?)-*šu na-as-ḳu*
43. *a-na aš-rat Marduk*
44. *u Ṣar-pa-ni-tum*
45. *lu-u ad-di-nu-ma*
46. *mu-uḫ-ḫi lu-bu-uš-ti*
47. *i-lu-ti-šu-nu*
48. *ra-bi-tim*
49. *lu-za-'i-i-nu*

i.e., "the lapis lazuli of the mountains, the green tooth of Markhasi, etc., etc., I presented to the temples of Merodach and his wife, and adorned with it the garments of their grand divinity." In another text (4 R. 18, No. 3) we meet instead of these ten precious stones the nine following: *ḫulâl îni*, *mušgarru*, *ḫulâlu*, *sându*, *uknû*, *dušû*, *aban nisiḳti* (or *šubû*), *ilmišu* (חַלָּמִישׁ), and *abnu ša pi** *in-gu-šu ḫurâṣa uḫḫuzu*, "for the adornment of the breast of the king" (*ana irti íllîti ša šarri ana simâti šakānu*), to which may be compared the nine precious stones of Ezekiel xxviii, 13 (for the covering of the king of Tyre), whilst the twelve stones of the breast-plate belonged to the pontiff, and not to a king.

In the above given list of Agukakrimi, two names are exceedingly remarkable. Line 38 we read, *abna ḫulâl* (or *za-dùn*) [cuneiform]; this I read *ǵus-simid*, and compare the "*khesbed* of Babel" (a kind of lapis lazuli) of the Egyptian inscriptions. The other name is "the green KA (or SU, *i.e.*, *šinnu*, "tooth") of Markhashi," or emerald (smaragd), perhaps the same as the "green *aban nisikti*," 5 R. 30, No. 5, line 67. Since the north Syrian town Markhaši (the modern Mar'ash) is otherwise written *Marḳasi*, it seems to me very probable that the etymology of "smaragd," Arabic *zabargad* and *zumurrud*, Hebrew *barḳat*, Greek σμάραγδος, μάραγδος, Indian *marakata* and *masâraka*, lies in the Babylonian *su-Markhaš* of Agu-kak-rimi.

§ 11*a*. Dr. Bruno Meissner identifies in his paper "Lexicalische Studien" (Z.A., VIII, 1893), p. 82–85, the Babylonian word *šutapû*, "consort," "companion," with Syr. שַׁוְתָפָא *šautâphâ*, "socius,"

* Sumerian [cuneiform]-*bi tag-tag-ga gušgin-ta garra*; compare [cuneiform] (read *sal-là*) = *pû* "mouth," Brünnow, No. 10,958, and [cuneiform] *tag* = *ingu*, 2 R. 41, 7*c*. The abnu SAL-LA of Agukakrimi seems to be the same stone as the *abnu ša pi ingušu ḫurâṣa uḫḫuzu* of 4 R. 18, No. 3.

and derives it from a root *apû* (רפי), "to be united, joined" (otherwise JENSEN, Z.A., VIII, 85, note 1: borrowed from Sumerian *šú-tab*, compare *tappû* from Sumer. *tab*). I am able to add to these corresponding words a third, viz., the Ethiopic ሱቱፍ፡, *sûtûf*, "socius, consort," ተሳተፈ፡, "societatem inire," which belong to the oldest stock of Ethiopic words. Therefore, the word must have been carried in very ancient times by Arab tradesmen from Babylonia to the eastern and southern Arabs, from whom it passed to the Ethiopians.

b. Another old borrowing from Babylonia seems to me the well-known Arabic word for "colour," "form," "exterior habit," لون, *laun;* it comes from the Babylonian word *lânu*, "form," "appearance," "shape," "statue," which latter itself is borrowed from the Sumerian *alan* (Neo-Sumerian *alam*), "statue," "image." In the other Semitic languages *lânu*, لون has no correspondents, which is the best confirmation of its character as a borrowed word.

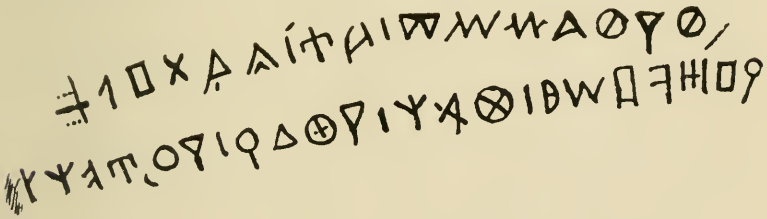
§ 12*a*. In several Babylonian texts of the oldest period we find a town *A-idinna-ki*, *e.g.*, in an inscription of *Ur-Ghanna*, published by E. DE SARZEC ("Revue d'Assyr.," II, 4. p. 147), col. 37: *mu-rù*, "the town *A-idinna* he has built." Since *a-idinna* ("water for the desert") is explained by the Assyrian lexicographical tablets with the Semitic word *nâdu*, "leather bag" (Heb. נאד), I read the name of this town, which reminds us of the name of Sippar, *Ud-kib-nun-Idinna* (WARD, "Hebraica," II, 85, LEHMANN, "Samas-sum-ukin" II, 38), simply *Nâdu*, the Heb. נ׳ד of Gen. iv, 16, "Cain dwelt in the land of Nod, in the east of (or better: before) Eden (Idinna!)" I think it not impossible too, that the writing of Agadi (Akkad), , is only a later variant of an older *A-ga-di*(-ki), which resembles so much the above given *A-idinna-ki* or *Nâdu* of the south Babylonian inscriptions. Indeed, Agadi was nearly the same as Sippar (the one Sippar of Anunit and the other Sippar of the Sun-god).

b. In Gen. iv, 17, we read the name of another town, *Khanôk*, as built by Cain for his son Khanôk ("and he builded a city and called the name of the city after the name of his son, Khanok"). If I am right in reading the name [illegible], (the old ideograph of Ninu'a) as *Ghanna-ki*,* it seems very plausible to identify this name with the name of the Biblical town in Gen. iv, 17.

NOTE TO THE PAPER ON THE KARIAN AND LYDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY A. H. SAYCE.

In my Paper on the Karian and Lydian inscriptions, which was published in the *Proceedings* for January 8, 1895, I stated that I had been unable to revise my copy of the text I discovered three years ago north of Silsilis, the boulder upon which it was scratched having been utilised for the support of a telegraph-post. Last winter, however, I found that the post had been moved to another piece of rock, and though the bed of stones in which it had been planted had done some injury to the Karian text underneath them, it was still very legible in the morning light. Accordingly I now give a facsimile of it, which corrects my first copy in one or two points. The alphabet employed in the inscription is not the usual Karian one, but some local variety of it, of which we have no other example. On that account I refrain from giving a transliteration of it.

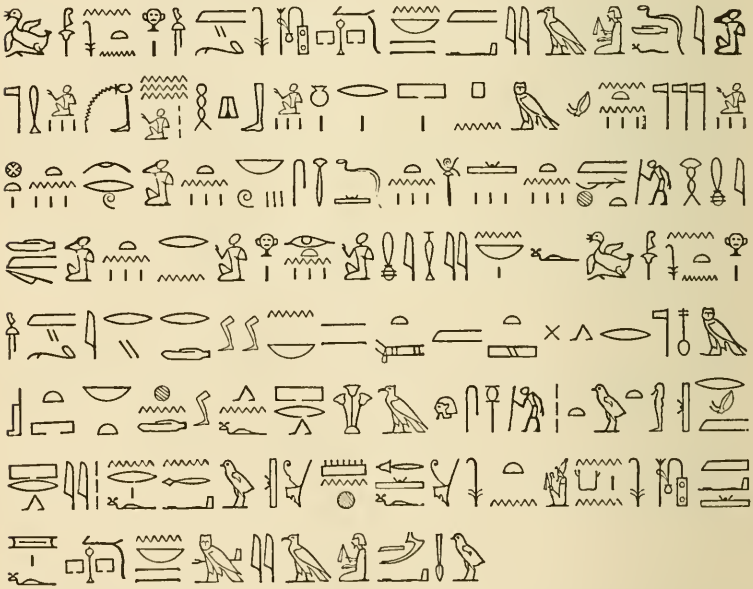


* [illegible], ("house,") with inscribed [illegible] (= *ǵan*), as phonetic indicator; GUDEA, Cyl. A, 4. 4, we read [illegible]-*na*, *i.e.*, *ǵan-na*. A later form of the name of the goddess [illegible] (Istar of Niniveh) is [illegible], *i.e.*, *ghul-la*.

LA COUDÉE ROYALE DU MUSÉE ÉGYPTIEN DU LOUVRE.

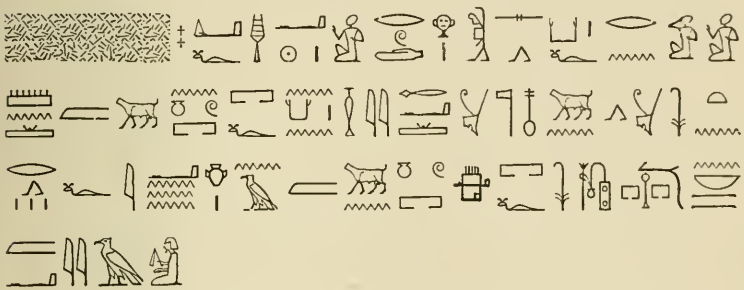
Par M. Paul Pierret.

Le Musée égyptien du Louvre possède (Salle civile, vitrine I) une coudée royale de 525 millimètres portant les désignations hiéroglyphiques de ses différentes parties, avec les seize subdivisions du doigt. Ce petit monument a plusieurs fois attiré l'attention des savants, et la partie métrologique en a été publiée notamment par M. C. Rodenbach dans un mémoire spécial sur la coudée (Bruxelles, 1883). Les autres légendes concernant le personnage à qui elle appartenait sont inédites. Les voici :



"Le porte-chasse-mouches du roi à (sa) droite, scribe royal, intendant du trésor du maître de la terre, Maia. Il dit : O prophètes,

prêtres, Kher-heb de ce temple ! Les dieux de votre ville écouteront* toutes vos prières, vous transmettrez vos dignités après la vieillesse accomplie selon que vous proclamerez mon nom en me traitant comme un favori de son maître, porte-chasse-mouches du roi à (sa) droite, compagnon des jambes du maître de la terre, qui ne s'est éloigné du Pharaon en aucun lieu où il est allé, apparaissant derrière le groupe des Smer† pour entendre ce qui sort de la bouche du roi, (cela étant-) par la grandeur de la bienveillance du roi pour la personne du royal scribe, ami de la Vérité, intendant du trésor du maître de la terre, Maia dont la parole est vérité."



". . . . pour qu'il accorde que mon existence soit prospère pour servir sa personne, que mon nom soit affermi dans l'intérieur de sa demeure, (cela) pour la personne du grand favori du Pharaon qui marche sur les pas du roi et comble les désirs§ de ceux de l'intérieur de son palais, le royal scribe, intendant du trésor du maître de la terre, Maia."

* . L'emploi de pour introduire une proposition a été depuis longtemps signalé par M. Erman (*Neuaegypt. grammatik*, p. 215).

† Litteralement *derrière les Smer réunis.*

‡ Cette lacune cache l'invocation à un dieu.

§ Le sens de l'expression a été parfaitement établi par M. A. Moret dans le *Recueil des Travaux*, XIV, 120.

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,, II, ,, 1 ...	8	0	10	6	,, VII, ,, 1 ...	7	6	10	6
,, II, ,, 2 ...	8	0	10	6	,, VII, ,, 2 ...	10	6	12	6
,, III, ,, 1 ...	8	0	10	6	,, VII, ,, 3 ...	10	6	12	6
,, III, ,, 2 ...	8	0	10	6	,, VIII, ,, 1 ...	10	6	12	6
,, IV, ,, 1 ...	10	6	12	6	,, VIII, ,, 2 ...	10	6	12	6
,, IV, ,, 2 ...	10	6	12	6	,, VIII, ,, 3 ...	10	6	12	6
,, V, ,, 1 ...	12	6	15	0	,, IX, ,, 1 ...	10	6	12	6
,, V, ,, 2 ...	10	6	12	6	,, IX, ,, 2 ...	10	6	12	6

PROCEEDINGS.

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,, II,	,,	1879–80	2 0	2 6
,, III,	,,	1880–81	4 0	5 0
,, IV,	,,	1881–82	4 0	5 0
,, V,	,,	1882–83	4 0	5 0
,, VI,	,,	1883–84	5 0	6 0
,, VII,	,,	1884–85	5 0	6 0
,, VIII,	,,	1885–86	5 0	6 0
,, IX,	,,	1886–87	2 0 per Part	2 6
,, IX,	Part 7,	1886–87	8 0 ,, ,,	10 6
,, X,	Parts 1 to 7,	1887–88	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
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,, XII,	Parts 1 to 7,	1889–90	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
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,, XIII,	Part 8,	1890–91	5 0 ,, ,,	6 0
,, XIV,	Parts 1 to 7,	1891–92	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
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,, XV,	Parts 1 to 7,	1892–93	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XV,	Part 8,	1892–93	5 0 ,, ,,	6 0
,, XVI,	Parts 1 to 10,	1893–94	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XVII,	In progress	1895		

A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1895-6.

Sixth Meeting, 5th November, 1895.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President,
IN THE CHAIR.

The President referred to the loss the Society had recently suffered by the death of three of its Members.
Professor Eber Schrader, of Berlin.
Rev. William Houghton. M.A., F.L.S.
H. Villiers Stuart, of Dromana.

The following Donations to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From Prof. A. H. Sayce:—The Philology of the English Tongue. By John Earle, M.A. Third edition. Oxford. 8vo. 1879.

From the Author:—Lucien Gautier. Au dela du Jourdain. 8vo. Genève. 1895.

(Société de Géographie de Genève. Tome XXXIV. Memoires.)

From the Author and Publisher:—Tellis and Kleobeia (Poem). By Robert Brown, Jun., F.S.A. London. 8vo. D. Nutt. 1895.

From the Author:—G. Sergi. Origine e diffusione della Stirpe Mediterranea. Roma. 8vo. 1895.

From the Author:—H. A. Poels. Le Sanctuaire de Kirjath-Jearim, étude sur le lieu du culte chez les Israélites au temps de Samuël, etc. Louvain. 8vo. 1894.

From Jos. Pollard:—Catalogue of a Collection of Egyptian Antiquities discovered in 1895 between Ballas and Nagada. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. London. 8vo. 1895.

From Rev. R. Gwynne:—Zur Erklärung der semitischen Verbalformen. Von L. Nix. 1895.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held the 3rd December, 1895:—

Mrs. George Bennett, 4, Hampton Grove, Surbiton, Surrey.

Sam. Bergheim, 41, Norfolk Square, W.

Alfred Charles Bryant, B.A., 5, Dagmar Terrace, Alexandra Park, Wood Green.

James Johnstone, 8, Merchiston Park, Edinburgh.

J. R. Mayfield, Eastbourne.

H. J. Innes Whitehouse, 107, Farleigh Road, Stoke Newington, N.

A. Goodinch Williams, F.S.A., F.R.H.S., The London Institution, Finsbury Circus, E.C.

Charles Hanson Greville Williams, F.R.S., F.C.S., F.I.C., Castlemaine, Oakhill Road, Putney, S.W.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The University Library, Bonn, Germany.
The Melbourne Library, Australia.
The Luxor Sporting Club. Rev. C. B. Huleatt, M.A., Librarian, Luxor, Egypt.

A Paper was read by the Rev. C. J. Ball, on the 33rd Chapter of Deuteronomy, which will be printed in the next part of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by the Rev. Dr. Löwy, Rev. G. Margoliouth, Thos. Tyler, M.A., and the Rev. C. J. Ball.

Thanks were returned for this Communication.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. le Page Renouf.

CHAPTER CXXV.

Part I.

Said on arriving at the Hall of Righteousness, that *N* may be loosed from all the sins which he hath committed and that he may look upon the divine countenances.

He saith: Hail to thee, mighty god, lord of Righteousness!

I am come to thee, oh my Lord: I have brought myself that I may look upon thy glory. I know thee, and I know the name of the Forty-two gods who make their appearance with thee in the Hall of Righteousness; devouring those who harbour mischief, and swallowing their blood, upon the Day of the searching examination (1) in presence of Unneferu.

Verily, 'Thou of the Pair of Eyes, (2) Lord of Righteousness' is thy name.

Here am I; I am come to thee; I bring to thee Right and have put a stop to Wrong.

I am not a doer of wrong to men.

I am not one who slayeth his kindred. (3)

I am not one who telleth lies instead of truth. (4)

I am not conscious of treason.

I am not a doer of mischief.

I do not exact as the firstfruits of each day more work than should be done for me. (5)

My name cometh not to the Bark of the god who is at the Helm.

I am not a transgressor against the god.

I am not a tale-bearer.

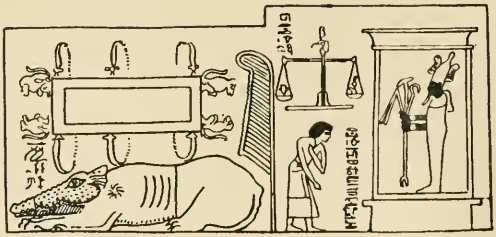
I am not a detractor.

I am not a doer of that which the gods abhor.

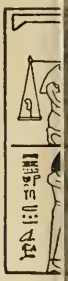
I hurt no servant with his master.

I cause no famine.

I cause not weeping.



CHAPTER CXXV.
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, III, 36.



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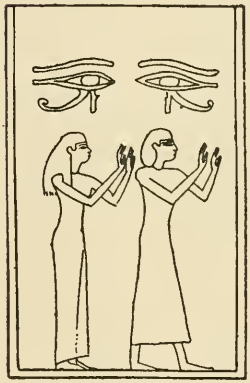
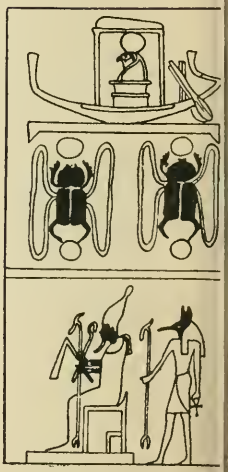


CHAPTER CXXV.
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, III, 93.



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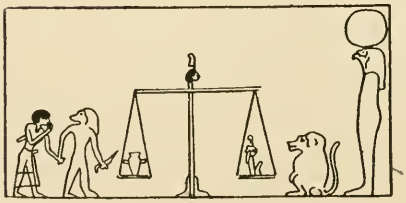
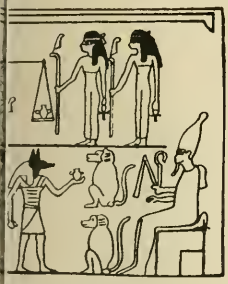


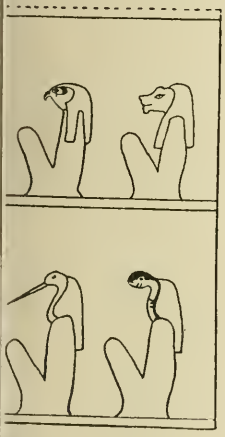
CHAPTER CXXV.
Papyrus du Louvre, III, 9.

CHAPTER CXXIV. F
Louvre, Cab. d

HE DEAD.



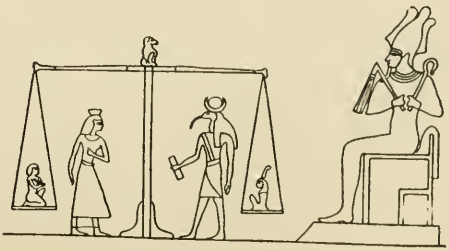
APTER CXXV.
s du Louvre, III, 89.



XXV.
Louvre, III, 36.

us, Musêe du
édailles.

CHAPTER CXXV. Papyrus, Ani.



CHAPTER CXXV.
Papyrus, Paris, Sketch by Mr. Renouf.

I am not a murderer.
I give not orders for murder.
I cause not suffering to men.
I reduce not the offerings in the temples.
I lessen not the cakes of the gods.
I rob not the dead of their funereal food.
I am not an adulterer.
I am undefiled in the Sanctuary of the god of my domain.
I neither increase nor diminish the measures of grain.
I am not one who shorteneth the palm's length. (6)
I am not one who cutteth short the field's measure. (7)
I put not pressure upon the beam (8) of the balance.
I tamper not with the tongue of the balance.
I snatch not the milk from the mouth of infants.
I drive not the cattle from their pastures.
I net not the birds of the manors of the gods. (9)
I catch not the fish of their ponds. (10)
I stop not the water at its appointed time.
I divide not an arm of the water in its course.
I extinguish not the lamp during its appointed time.
I do not defraud the Divine Circle of their sacrificial joints.
I drive not away the cattle of the sacred estate.
I stop not a god when he cometh forth.
I am pure, I am pure, I am pure, I am pure.

My purity is that of the Great Bennu in Sutenhunen, for I am the Nose of the Lord of Air, who giveth life to all mortals; on the day when the Eye is full in Annu, on the last day of Mechir; in presence of the Lord of this land.

And I am one who see the fulness of the Eye in Annu, let no harm come to me in this land, in the Hall of Righteousness; because I know the names of those gods who make their appearance in it.

Part II.

1. Oh thou of long strides, who makest thine appearance in Annu; I am not a doer of wrong.

2. Oh thou who holdest the fire, and makest thine appearance in Cher-āba; I am not a man of violence.

3. Oh thou of the Nose, (11) who makest thine appearance at Chemunnu; I am not evil minded.

4. Oh Eater of the Shadow, (12) who makest thine appearance at Elephantine; I am not rapacious.

5. Oh thou of Serpent face, who makest thine appearance at Re-Stau; I am not a slayer of men.

6. Oh thou of Lion form, (13) who makest thine appearance in Heaven; I am not fraudulent in measures of grain.

7. Oh thou whose eyes [pierce] like swords, who makest thine appearance in Sechem; I commit no fraud.

8. Oh thou of fiery face, whose motion is backwards; I am not a robber of sacred property.

9. Oh Breaker of bones, who makest thine appearance in Sutenhunen; I am not a teller of lies.

10. Oh thou who orderest the flame, who makest thine appearance in Memphis; I am not a robber of food.

11. Oh thou of the Two Caverns, who makest thine appearance in Amenta; I am not sluggish. (14)

12. Oh thou of the Bright Teeth, (15) who makest thine appearance in the Unseen Land; I am not a transgressor.

13. Oh Eater of Blood, who makest thine appearance at the Block; I have not slaughtered the sacred animals.

14. Oh Eater of Livers, who makest thine appearance at Mâbit; I deal not fraudulently.

15. Oh Lord of Righteousness, who makest thine appearance in the place of Righteousness; I am not a land-grabber.

16. Oh thou who turnest backwards, who makest thine appearance in Bubastis; I am not an eaves-dropper.

17. Oh Âati, (16) who makest thine appearance at Annu; I am not one of prating tongue.

18. Oh Tutuf, (17) who makest thine appearance in Ati; I trouble myself (18) only with my own affairs.

19. Oh Uammetu, who makest thine appearance at the Block; I commit not adultery with another's wife.

20. Oh Maa-antu-f, who makest thine appearance in Pa-Amsu, I am not unchaste with any one.

21. Oh thou who art above Princes, and who makest thine appearance in Amu; (19) I do not cause terrors.

22. Oh Chemiu, (20) who makest thine appearance in Kauu; I am not a transgressor.

23. Oh thou who raisest thy voice, (21) and makest thine appearance in Urit; I am not hot of speech.

24. Oh divine Babe, who makest thy appearance in Annu; I lend not a deaf ear to the words of Righteousness.

25. Oh high-voiced one, who makest thy appearance in Unsit; I am not boisterous in behaviour.

26. Oh Basit, who makest thine appearance at the Shetait; I am not the cause of weeping to any.

27. Oh thou whose face is behind thee, and who makest thine appearance at thy cavern; I am not given to unnatural lust.

28. Oh thou, hot of foot, (22) who makest thy appearance at even; I indulge not in anger.

29. Oh Kenemtu, who makest thine appearance in Kenemit; I am not given to cursing.

30. Oh thou who carriest thine own offering, and makest thine appearance in Syut; I am not of aggressive hand.

31. Oh thou who hast different faces, and makest thine appearance in Net'efit; I am not one of inconstant mind. (23)

32. Oh Busy one, who makest thine appearance at Utenit; I do not steal the skins of the sacred animals. (24)

33. Oh thou Horned one, who makest thine appearance at Sais; I am not noisy (25) in my speech.

34. Oh Nefertmu, who makest thine appearance in Memphis; I am neither a liar nor a doer of mischief.

35. Oh Tem-sepu, who makest thine appearance in Tattu; I am not one who curseth the king.

36. Oh thou who doest according to thine own will, and makest thine appearance in Tebuu; I put no check upon the water in its flow.

37. Oh Striker, (26) who makest thine appearance in Heaven; I am not one of loud voice.

38. Oh thou who makest mortals to flourish, and who makest thine appearance at Sais; I curse not a god.

39. Oh thou of beautiful shoulder, who makest thine appearance at . . . . (27); I am not swollen with pride.

40. Oh Neheb-kau, who makest thy appearance at thy cavern; I have no unjust preferences. (28)

41. Oh thou of raised head, (29) who makest thine appearance at thy cavern; I have no strong desire except for my own property.

42. Oh thou who liftest an arm, (30) and who makest thine appearance in the Netherworld, I do not that which offendeth the god of my domain.

SENNACHERIB'S LETTERS TO HIS FATHER SARGON.

By C. H. W. Johns, Queens' College, Cambridge.

The last years of Sargon's reign are in some obscurity. The great king's own inscriptions carry us down to B.C. 708; but, except that he was murdered in B.C. 705, nothing further is known. Anything that can throw light upon these last three years must be welcome. I believe that interest will therefore attach to the letters which Sennacherib wrote to his father during the time that he was in the position of a subordinate, though high official. In the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum four at least are preserved, viz., K. 125; K. 181; K. 5464; K. 7434. All four are now published in Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters of the K. Collection*, Vol. II. Of these, K. 7434 contains only the seven lines of complimentary good wishes, which seem to have occurred at the commencement of each; the three others I purpose here to transliterate, and as far as I can, translate.

K. 181 has long been before the public in the fourth volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia (page 47). It was also published in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. VI, page 220, by Mr. T. G. Pinches, with an introduction, transcription, translation, and notes. Oppert and Lenormant seem to have considered the writer to be the great Sennacherib, the son and successor of Sargon. The letter forwards to the king reports from a wide-spread district, and indicates the writer's position as one of high authority, but it does not give the name of the king to whom it was sent, nor any hint as to the writer's relation to him. At the end of the letter a "majordomo" of the lady Mimmu-abi-ša is named. The same female name occurs also as that of the "prophetess" who utters an oracle for the encouragement of Esarhaddon, which is published in the same volume of Inscriptions (IV R., p. 61, col. v, line 65), where she is called a daughter of Arbela. Whether the Nabû-mudu named in this letter be the majordomo in question, or not, we do know that this was the name of the prefect of Arbela in B.C. 702, at the very commencement of Sennacherib's reign. It fits the circum-

stances of the case to suppose that Nabû-mudu sent news at the end of Sargon's reign from the seat of war by the majordomo of Mimmu-abi-ša, and a few years later was prefect of Arbela, where that lady lived. If Mimmu-abi-ša be a personal name, there seems no difficulty in extending her life so as to overlap Sennacherib's reign two or three years each way; on the other hand, if, as its meaning allows, it is simply an official name of the prophetess of Ištar of Arbela, there seems no difficulty at all: so on any supposition it is possible the great Sennacherib was the writer. Another official named in this letter is Aššur-riṣûa, known also as the author of several despatches on the same events, and further connected with Sargon as his *amêl reš dupšar ša zikrit ekalli* (Strassmaier, A.V., No. 880). Other considerations will suggest themselves in more closely examining the contents of this tablet, all pointing to the end of Sargon's reign as the date, and to his son as the writer. It seems important to settle the date of this letter, as the names occurring in it serve to associate a wide group of letters in the same collection.

The letter K. 5464 was first published by Dr. Winckler (Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten, Heft II). It is also written by a Sennacherib, and mentions Aššur-riṣua, almost certainly referring to the same report from him, and quite certainly to the same events as in K. 181. So the Sennacheribs are the same. But the writer of this letter is twice called the king's son, and this seems to settle his identity.

The letter K. 125, also first published in the same work by Dr. Winckler, has much less interest, and the name of the writer is somewhat defaced. Neither Dr. Winckler nor Dr. Bezold in his *Catalogue* expressly ascribes it to Sennacherib, but Mr. Harper has no doubt, and nothing in its contents seems incompatible with that assumption. Mr. Harper calls attention also to Rm. 2, 14, as another letter by Sennacherib. This I have not seen.

In what I have attempted here by way of transcription and translation I must acknowledge my great debt to Dr. Delitzsch's work on Assyrian Letters in the two volumes of his *Beiträge*, and wherein I differ from Mr. Pinches' work on K. 181, I trust that he will pardon the expression of honest doubt. The letters already published by Mr. S. A. Smith have given me many valued hints and parallels. Mr. S. A. Strong, my respected teacher, kindly collated Dr. Winckler's texts, from which I worked, with the originals in the British Museum.

K. 181.

Obverse.

1. A-na šarri be-li-ia
2. Ardu-ka (m) Sin-aḫê-erba
3. lu šul-mu a-na šarri be-li-ia
4. šul-mu a-na (mât) Aššur (ki)
5. šul-mu a-na ašrâ-te
6. šul-mu a-na (âl) bi-rat ša šarri gab-bu
7. lib-bu šá šarri bê-li-ia a-dan-niš lu ṭâb
8. (mât) Uk-ka-a-a ina muḫ-ḫi-ia is-sa-par
9. ma-a šâr (mât) Urarṭa-a-a a-na (mât) Ga-mir
10. bi-id il-lik-ú-ni ma-a (amêl) e-mu-ḳi-šu
11. a-na ma-la di-e-ka ma-a šu (amêl) bêl piḫâtê-šu
12. a-na (amêl) e-mu-ḳi-šu-nu še-e-lu-u
13. (turta)-nu-šu II (amêl) bêl piḫâtê
14. it-tal ka
15. iṣ-ṣa-ba-at
16. -a-a il-lik-an-ni
17. nu-te šá mâti-šu
18. iš-šak-nu-u-ni
19. an-ni-ú ṭe-e-mu
20. šá mât Uk-ka-a-a
21. (m) Aššur-ri-ṣu-u-a i-sa-ap-ra
22. ma-a ṭe-e-mu šá (mât) Urarṭa-a-a
23. ma pa-ni-ú šá aš-pur-an-ni
24. ma-a šú-ut u-ma šú-ú
25. ma-a di-ik-tú ina lib-bi-šu-nu

Edge.

26. ma'-da di-e-ka-at
27. ma-a ú-ma-a mât-su ni-ḫa-at
28. ma-a (amêl) rabûtê-šu ia-mu-tú.
29. ina libbi mâti-šú it-ta-lak

Reverse.

1. ma-a (m) Ḳaḳḳad-a-nu (amêl) tur-ta-nu-šu
2. ṣa-bi-it ma-a šâr (mât) Urarṭa-a-a
3. ina lib (mât) U-a-ṣa-un šú-ú
4. an-ni-ú ṭe-e-mu šá (m) Aššur-ri-ṣu-u-a

5. (m) Nabû-mudu (amêl) bêl piḫâtê šá (âl) Ḫalṣu
6. ina muḫ-ḫi-ia is-sa-ap-ra
7. ma-a ina eli (amêl) maṣṣar (âl) bi-ra-a-te
8. šá ina eli ta-ḫu-u-me ina eli ṭe-e-mu
9. šá šar (mât) Urarṭa-a-a a-sa-ap-ra
10. ma-a (mât) Gamir bi-id il-lik-u-ni
11. ma-a (amêl) e-mu-ḳi-e-šu a-na ma-la di-e-ka
12. ma-a III (amêl) rabûtê-šu a-du (amêl) e-mu-ḳi-šu-nu
13. di-e-ku ma-a šú-u-tú iḫ-tal-ḳa
14. ana mâti-šu e-tar-ba ma-a ma-dak-tú-šu
15. ú-di-i-ni la ta-ḳa-ri-ba
16. an-ni-ú ṭe-e-mu šá (m) Nabû-mudu
17. (âl) Mu-ṣa-ṣir-a-a aḫu-šu
18. mâr-šu a-na šul-me
19. ina eli šar (mât) Urarṭa-a-a it-tal-ku
20. (amêl)mâr šip-ri šá (mât) Ḫu-pu-uš-ka-a-a
21. a-na šul-me ina muḫ-ḫi-šu-ma
22. it-ta-la-ak
23. (amêl) maṣṣar (âl) bi-rat gab-bu
24. ša ina eli ta-ḫu-me ṭe-e-mu
25. a-ki an-ni-im-ma i-sa-par-u-ni

Edge.

26. e-gir-tú šá (m) Nabû-mudu
27. (amêl) rab biti šá (f) Mimmu-abi-ša
28. ištu (mât) Ta-bal na-ṣu-u-ni
29. ina eli šarri bêl-ia us-si-bi-la

Translation.

1. *To the king my lord*
2. *Thy servant, Sennacherib*
3. *Verily peace be to the king my lord*
4. *Peace to Assyria*
5. *Peace to the temples*
6. *Peace to the fortresses of the king my lord all of them*
7. *The heart of the king my lord be supremely cheered*
8. *The land of the Ukkai to me sent*
9. *that the king of the land of the Urarṭai, to the land Gamir*
10. *as he went; that his forces*

11. *to the full extent were slain, that he, his prefects*
12. *against their forces despatched*
13. *his tartan (?), two prefects*
14. *he has gone*
15. *he is taken*
16. *-ai has come to me*
17. *of his land*
18. *they are fixed*
19. *this news*
20. *from the land of the Ukkai.*
21. *Aššur-riṣûa sent*
22. *that the news of the land of the Urarṭai is*
23. *also the former which I sent*
24. *that upon that same day*
25. *that a slaughter in their midst*

EDGE.

26. *extensively took place* (lit. *was slain*)
27. *that now his land is at rest;*
28. *that his nobles are dead*
29. *into the midst of his land he has gone*

REVERSE.

1. *that Ḳaḳḳadanu his tartan*
2. *is taken; that the king of the land of the Urarṭai*
3. *is in the midst of the land of Uaṣa-un that same*
4. *this is the news of Aššur-riṣûa*
5. *Nabû-mudu, prefect of Ḫalṣu*
6. *to me sent*
7. *that to the wardens of the fortresses*
8. *which are on the border, on account of news*
9. *of the king of the land of the Urarṭai, I sent:*
10. *that to the land of Gamir as he went*
11. *that his forces were extensively slain;*
12. *that three of his nobles in addition to their forces*
13. *were slain; that he himself had fled;*
14. *to his land had entered; that his camp*
15. *as yet has not been approached;*

16. *this is the news of Nabû-mudu.*
17. *To the city of the Muṣaṣirai, his brother,*
18. *his son, for peace,*
19. *on behalf of the king of the Urarṭai have come:*
20. *a messenger of the land of the Ḫupuškai*
21. *for peace for him also*
22. *has come.*
23. *The wardens of all the fortresses*
24. *which are on the border news*
25. *like this also sent.*
26. *The letter of Nabû-mudu*
27. *the majordomo of Mimmu-abi-ša*
28. *from the land of Tabal brought;*
29. *to the king my lord I have sent* (lit. *caused to bring*).

Notes. K. 181.

The first seven lines appear to be identical in all the four letters of Sennacherib. They are evidently a formula of complimentary greeting deemed appropriate by the writer. They have many striking parallels in other letters and despatches, and call for little comment. In my transliterations I have placed the restorations in brackets: but in K. 5464 and K. 125 have not thought it necessary to repeat their translation. At the end of line 5 the word *e-ḳur-meš-te** was read *Bit-Matatê:* but the frequent spelling *e-kur-ra(a)te* points to an ending *-râte.* S. A. Smith and Delitzsch render *e-kur* by *ašru* or *ešru*, and Delitzsch seems to prefer the reading of the whole *ašrâtê*, at any rate it is the plural of *e-kur*, and means "temples." Delitzsch (in his *Wo lag das Paradies?*) places a definite city Birâte on the banks of the Turnat, and quotes this passage among others in support of his view. A more conclusive passage occurs in K. 509, line 6, where we have *Birta-a-a*, "the people of Birtu." So there seems no doubt that there was a city Birtu, and probably more than one. Birtu does, however, occur simply in the sense "a fortress," and seems, from Winckler's *Sargon*, to be interchangeable with *ḫalṣu.* Here Birat seems plural and in similar complimentary salutations we read *ḫalṣâni;* further the addition of *gabbu* and the custom in such passages seems to demand the reading "fortresses."

* On K. 4447 Aššurbanipal spells it *i-ku-ra-ti.*

Line 9. In nearly every case known to me, where these troubles are referred to, the ideogram which I read *Urarṭu* is used, and that can equally well be read *Accad*, but in K. 574, Gabbu-ana-Aššur, mentioning the same districts as Aššur-riṣûa does in his letters, names also three prefects to whom he sent for tidings of the movements of the king of the U-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a. These three names are Aššur-riṣûa, Nabû-mudu, and Aššur-bêl-dan. This decided my reading. The land Gamir is said by Delitzsch (*Parad.*, p. 245) to be the same as Gimir, and it is placed in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia on the map (in Schrader's *Keil. Bibliothek*) outside the limits of Sargon's empire. I cannot find any mention of it in Winckler's *Sargon*, but Aššur-riṣûa in his report K. 1080 mentions the fortresses of the land Gamirra as sending tribute to the king of Urarṭu, coupling with them the countries of Guriania and Nagiu and the fortresses of Urarṭu. At the same time he mentions the defeat of the king of Urarṭu "when he went to the land of Gamirra." This report was addressed to the king direct; in our case the news reaches Sennacherib from the land of the well-known Ukkai.

Line 11. *mâla* as a preposition might mean "for," though *ana mâla dieka*, "for to conquer," seems unlikely, as the infinitive is *dâku*, and I take *dieka* as permansive. *ana mâla* is frequent in the sense "as many as," with and without *bašû*. I take it here in the sense, "to a full extent," "extensively." It is unusual to find *šu* in the sense of "he," "himself;" I am inclined to read *šu* = *kiššat*, and render, "all his prefects."

Line 12. *Šêlû* is an unusual form except as imperative or infinitive. It seems difficult to take *nu-šêlû*, because of the question it raises as to the "we" concerned. It could be from *šalu*, which Lyon gives as meaning "to shoot, discharge weapons."* The change of *a* to *e* would be parallel to *išeššu* for *išaši*.

Line 13. The ending *-nu-šu* has induced me to restore *turtanu-šu*. The king of Urarṭu seems to have lost his tartan and two prefects in the battle. In line 12 *rev.* they seem to be referred to as three "nobles."

Line 21. Aššur-riṣûa was *reš dupšar ša(f) ekalli* in the 12th year of Sargon, and is known to me as author of the letters K. 194, K. 910, K. 1080, K. 1170, K. 1907, and Rm. 2, 3. He is frequently

* *Senacherib Prism. Ins.*, V, 49, has *nša'lu kakkâ-šun*; Aššurb. *Rm. Cyl.* I, 34, *šalie ḳašti*.

mentioned in other letters referring to these events (*e.g.*, K. 561, K. 746, K. 1182, K. 7528, K. 13,111; *see* Bezold's *Catalogue*). I am not at all sure that I correctly appreciate the order of events which he had to announce, and many of the letters are very fragmentary. Sargon, as we know from his annals, had set garrisons in the cities of Usi, Usian, Uargîn, in the land of Urarṭu, and several of these letters mention "the garrisons." It seems the king of Urarṭu, after his check on attempting to go to Gamir, settled at Uesi, doubtless Sargon's Usi. The prefect of Usi drove him out. Then he held out at Ṭûrušpâ, the capital of Urarṭu in Tiglath-Pileser's time. The prefects Si-e-tini and Sunâ, of the land of the Ukkai, assembled their forces at Muṣaṣir, and in Rm. 2, 3 Aššur-riṣûa announces these facts. The king was still at Uesi. In K. 1080 Aššur-riṣûa reported the sending of tribute from Guriania, Nagiu, Gamirra and Urarṭu generally to the king after his defeat; but though he names Ṭurušpâ, it is not clear what he meant to say about that place. In K. 194 Aššur-riṣûa sends the rab-ḳiṣir Naragie with twenty conspirators as captives to Sargon. He announces that the king of Urarṭu has entered Ṭurušpâ and there gathered a following. Sargon's (?) tartanu šanu or second general Urṣini was captured in Ṭurušpâ, and his brother Apli-uknu had gone to see him there. K. 910 concerns a messenger from the land of the Ukkai who had gone up into the land of Urarṭu and returned into Assyria; but there is not enough left of the letter to make it clear how this fits into the story. K. 1170 does not seem to concern our period. In K. 1907 he names Ṭurušpâ, but too little is left to decide what the reference is. In K. 194 Aššur-riṣûa mentions having sent a messenger to Babylon, but to whom does not seem certain. Was Sargon there at this period? K. 125 also seems to suggest this (line 15).

Line 24. *u-ma* is an unusual way of spelling the word for "day," but I can make no better sense otherwise.

Line 28. *ia-mu-tú:* this I take to be from *mâtu*, "to die." The ending *-tu* is settled by K. 614, *rev.* 5, where we read, *gabsi âli idukin, iamutu. Cf.* K. 617, *rev.* 2–5, and 12–13, where we have *ia-mut-tu:* and K. 686, *mât Kilḫu gabbu ia-mu-tu.* I can see no other meaning possible that will serve all these passages. A similar case of *ia-* for *i-* (in verbs not commencing with a guttural) is *ia-šap-par-kan-ni* in S. 760. Mr. Pinches in his comments on this letter, seems to have derived it from a root meaning "to command," but

I cannot recognize the root. S. A. Smith, *Aššurb.*, Heft III, p. 72, thinks it the same as *ammute*, "those," and Mr. Pinches, p. 108, seems to agree with him.

REVERSE.

Line 1. The name *Ḳaḳḳadanu* is spelt singularly, but on K. 1111, a name *Ḳaḳ-ḳa-da-ni* occurs, which favours my reading. K. 645 gives *Ḳaḳḳa-da-nu ša putú mât Uka-a-a.*

Line 3. As far as I know, this is the only place in the correspondence where the land of Ua-ṣa-un is named. The termination *-un* occurs in other proper names, and I do not think it possible to connect it with the *šu-u* that follows in the text. The other letters give the place of retreat of the king of Urarṭu as the city of Uesi: it is probable the district is the same.

Line 4. Nabû-mudu now takes up the story in Sennacherib's letter. This was the name of the Eponym in B.C. 702, when he was prefect of Arbela. He is now prefect of Ḫalṣu. It is usual to read his name in the Eponym list as *Nabû-li'-*, but the character *-zu* may also be read *-mudu*, as Mr. Pinches did. K. 1026, a letter to the king from Arad-gula, spells the name *Nabû-zu-du;* the *-du* I take to be a phonetic complement showing the name was read *Nabû-mudu.* It is not necessary of course to identify the persons, but I feel that, without strong reasons to the contrary, the presumption must be that in such a limited set of actors the same name must refer to the same person. In our case Nabû-mudu is prefect of Ḫalṣu; he repeats the tidings sent by Aššur-riṣûa concerning the garrisons of the fortresses on the marches. The close parallelism of lines 9 and 10 on obverse and reverse leads me to read the land of Gamir in line 10, *rev.* The sign *pap*, *kur*, has the value *napḫariš:* and consequently may have had the sense "totality," expressed by Gimir; and though I do not know of an example in which *pap* is actually put = *gimru*, it seems probable that, as line 9, *obv.* would suggest, we are to read *Gimir* or *Gamir.*

Lines 14, 15. Delitzsch (A.W.) takes *udîni* as "eagles;" so the sense would be, his camp was so inaccessible that even an eagle could not approach it. Now the udini-bird in Aššurnaṣirpal is clearly some such bird as an eagle or vulture: and Sargon's *udini ḫurasi* or *kaspi* being mentioned as royal furniture, may well be golden or silver images of eagles: and the rendering here also would be quite admissible, though it is startling to meet a figure of

speech in the midst of such terse communications. But why is the determinative of birds omitted?: and besides there are quite a number of other passages where *udîni* thus occurs without the suffix (*-ḫu*). I think that "eagles cannot approach" them all. In K. 5464, line 19, we have *udîni ba-tiḳ-ma lâ ḫaraṣṣa*, and *udîni lâ* . . . . on the edge. Then Rm. 77, line 36, gives us *udîni ṭênšu lâ ni-ša-me.* Further, on K. 1021 we have *ina eli lišani ša šarru bêli išpuranni ašapra* (*amêl*) *da-a-a-li udîni la il-la-ku-u-ni*, *i.e.*, "as yet he is not come." In each a negative sentence follows, and it seems to me that *udîni* is an adverb, with some such sense as "at present," "as yet" (so and so has not happened). Further, I am inclined to compare K. 1170, also from the hand of Aššur-riṣûa, where we get *udîna la uda* . . . . : and Rm. 2, 3, again by Aššur-riṣûa, *udîna la unammaš.* K. 939, *rev.* 13, *udîna araḫ umê la illaka.* Petermann gives the modern Samaritan pronunciation of the word for "yet," "still," in *Gen.* xviii, 22; xliii, 27, 28, as *udinnu.* *Adu* is "now," *udu* is "day;" adverbs are formed from nouns with termination *-en* or *-an*, and the influence of analogy would account for *udi-ini.*

Line 17. It is not at all clear to me whose "son and brother" are intended, the pronoun "his" seems to refer to the king of Urarṭu, and I venture to consider *ina eli* as meaning "on behalf of." It was at Muṣaṣir that the Assyrian prefects were able to collect their forces to attack the rebel; so I do not think there is any hint of its defection here. Peace with the king of Urarṭu seems to me an improbable object, peace with the Assyrian forces seems likely. A brother and son are likely ambassadors for peace. It is possible that Nabûmudu's message ends with line 16, and in some parallel cases "the city N." is used for "a messenger from the city N.;" but on the whole I prefer my rendering. Years before this, Urzana, king of Muṣaṣir B.C. 714, had relied upon Ursa or Rusa, king of Urarṭu, and omitted to render his homage. Sargon's troops swarmed into the country, Urzana fled for his life, and went up into the mountains. Sargon triumphantly entered Muṣaṣir, Urzana's wife, sons, daughters, goods, and 20,170 of his people, with their possessions, his gods Ḫaldia and Bag-bar-tum, and their sacred vessels, with other temple furniture, were reckoned as spoil. Then Muṣaṣir was made part of the Assyrian empire. It is very curious to note that Urzana's seal still exists, and has been made the subject of a memoir by Schrader. All this seems decisive against the son and brother being relatives of Urzana, they probably belong to the

present king of Urarṭu. Rusa had put an end to his life on the capture of his gods at Muṣaṣir; Argisti was his successor.

Line 20. Ḫupuškia was the headquarters of Sargon in B.C. 715, when he received the tribute of the king of the land of Nairi, and from the district ruled by Rusa. In B.C. 714 Sargon again received tribute at this city, but Urzana of Muṣaṣir was then a defaulter. Sargon seems to have claimed to have added Urarṭu to his dominions, but in B.C. 708, while he was in Babylon, Argisti rebelled and stirred up Mutallu of Ḳummuḫ also to rebel. Perhaps this rising led to the events we are considering.

Line 26. The letter of Nabû-mudu was brought to Sennacherib from the land of Tabal, which had given Sargon trouble in B.C. 715 and again in B.C. 711, when a large part of it was colonised by Assyrians, the native population being deported. I am not certain from the wording of this letter whether Nabû-mudu himself was majordomo to Mimmu-abiša, or whether that official simply brought the prefect's letter.

K. 5464.

Obverse.

1. ana] šarri be-li-ia
2. ardu-ka (m)] Sin-âḫê-erba
3. lu šulmu] ana šarri be-li-ia
4. šul mu ana mât Aššur-] ki
5. šulmu ana aš-ra]-tê
6. šulmu ana (âl) birâte gab-] bu
7. libbu ša šarri beli-ia adanniš lu]-u ṭâb
8. bu-šu
9. -lak
10. it-tal-ka
11. šar (mât) Urarṭa-a-a
12. -te šá šar (mât) Aššur-(ki)
13. ma ṣi-pu
14. šar mât Urarṭa-a-a bêl piḫâtê-šu
15. ṭe-e-mu e-mu-ḳi-ku-nu
16. ina ḳatâ-ku-nu ṣa-ab-ta-ma alik alka (amêl) bêl piḫâtê
17. šá šar (mât) Aššur-(ki) ištu (âl) Ku-ma-a-a balṭute
18. ina ḳatâ ṣa-bi-ta ina muḫ-ḫi-ia i-ṣa-al-ka-a-ni

19. ma-a ú-di-i-ni ba-ti-iḳ-ma la-a ḫa-ra-aṣ-ṣa
20. ma-a ki-ma a-si-me šá-ki-il ina eli mâr šarri a-ša-ap-ra
21. ma-a e-mu-ḳi ar-ḫiš lu-še-bil-ú-ni
22. an-ni-ú ṭe-e-mu šá (m) Ar-ia-e
23. Ûm XI šá arḫu Ululu e-gir-tu šá (m) Aššur-ri-ṣu-u-a
24. ina muḫ-ḫi-ia ta-tal-ka ma-a šar mât Urarṭa-a-a
25. ma-a bîd (mât) Zi-kir-ta-a-a u-bi-lu-šu-u-ni
26. ma-a me-me-e-ni la iš-lim-a ma-a ra-ḳu-te-[e]
27. i-su-uḫ-ra ma-a ina lib (âl) U-a-a-si
28. a-du e-mu-ḳi-e-šu it-ta-lak e . . .
29. ma-a e-mu-ḳi-e-šu ina lib (âl) U-a-[a-si]
30. ma-a šu-u-tú e-mu-ḳi e-ṣa-te
31. i-si-e-šu it-ti ši-ma-a(-ti)
32. (mât) Ma-na-a-a it-ta-(lak)

EDGE.

33. ma-a ina eli šá e-gir . . . .
34. ú-di-i-ni la-a . . . . .
35. ma-a ki-ma asi-me a(-ša-ap-ra).

REVERSE.

1. ma-a (amêl) bêl piḫâti ša ina te-[gir-te
2. ina lib (âl) U-e-si šu-u-tú ma(?) . . . .
3. ma-a i-da-tu-uš-šú it-tu-ṣi . . . . .
4. ma-a u-ṣa-a-šú ištu lib (âl) U-a-a-[si]
5. la-a e-mur ḫarrâ-ni šá ina muḫ-ḫi . . . .
6. ú-ṭa-a-bu ti-tur-ra-a-te ú-be . . . . .
7. ma-a ki-ma a-si-me mi-i-nu šá ši-te-(ṣi ? ia ?)
8. šum-mu itti e-mu-ḳi-e-šú il-la-ka . . . . .
9. šum-mu za-ku-u šú-u-tú iš-šu-ka ma-a ub . . . .
10. ina eli mâr šarri a-ša-pa-ra
11. an-ni-ú ṭe-e-mu šá (m) Aššur-ri-ṣu-u-a
12. (mât) Ar-ṣa-bi-ia-a i-sa-ap-ra ma-a (mât) U-ka-a-a
13. su-pa-ni-ia lu pa ti u ma-a a-ta-a
14. . . . . du-ka-an-ni at-tu-nu ḳa-la-ku-nu
15. (amêl) mutir-pu-te-ia ina eli mât U(-ka-a-)a a-sa-par
16. mât Ar-ṣa-bi-ia šá-bu-ub
17. (i-)du an-ni bir-tu [ma]-ru-uṣ
18. ina lib a-a ina muḫ-ḫi-ia i-tal-ka
19. na ḫar-tú ina muḫ-ḫi-ia na-ṣa

20. ištu mât Ma-na-a-a iḳ-ṭi-bi-a
21. is-su-ḫar ṣa-tú a-sa-kan-šu
22. šá mât Sa-du-da-a-a ana (âl) Kal-ḫa
23. u-ni a-ta-ḫar ak-ta-na-ak
24. la ḫar-tú a-sa-ka-an
25. ša arḫu Ululu e-gir-tú
26. u-bi-la

Translation.

Obverse.

1–7. The compliments appear to be identical in phrase with the commencement of K. 181.
8–9. The ends alone are visible
10. Ends with "*he went*"
11. Concludes with "*the king of the land of the Urarṭai*"
12. Probably had "*the prefects of the king of Assyria*"
13. Leaves nothing certain
14. Has "*the king of the land of the Urarṭai his prefects*"
15. *an order* (*gave*) *your forces*
16. *in your hands take and go be off the prefects*
17. *of the king of Assyria from the city of the Kumai alive*
18. *in their hands were captured, over against me they advanced*
19. *that at present one is cut off, and there is no breaking out*
20. *that as I heard it is cared for, to the king's son I send*
21. *that forces quickly let him send*
22. *this is the news from Ariae.*
23. *The eleventh day of the month Elul a letter from Aššur-riṣûa*
24. *to me came that the king of the land of the Urarṭai*
25. *that when the land of the Zikirtai brought* (?)
26. *that any how he did not succeed that bootless*
27. *he turned back, that into the midst of the city U-ai-si*
28. *along with his forces he has gone,* . . . . . .
29. *that his forces are in the midst of the city U-a-a-si*
30. *that he, a few forces*
31. *with him, with prosperity*
32. . . . . *the land of the Manai has gone*
33. *that concerning what* . . . . . .
34. *at present . not* . . . . . .
35. *that as I have heard, I send*

REVERSE.

1. *that the prefect who is in the defence* (?)
2. *in the midst of the city Uasi, himself*
3. *that with his armament, he has set out*
4. *that he thrust him out from the midst of the city U-a-a-si*
5. *he did not find the roads which to*
6. *he made good the bridges*
7. *that as I have heard, whatever*
8. *whether with his forces, he goes*
9. *or that same zakû goes*
10. *to the king's son, I send.*
11. *this is the news of Aššur-riṣûa*
12. *The land of Arṣabîâ sent that the land of the Ukai*
13. *my defences verily are destroying now already*
14. *are killing me, I call on you:*
15. *my body-guards to the land of the Ukai I have sent*
16. *land of Arṣabia . . . . . is surrounded*
17. . . . . *the fortress is in evil case*
18. . . . . *to me came*
19. *the seal-ring to me was brought*
20. *from the land of the Manai he has said*
21. *he returned for ever I have fixed it*
22. . . . . *from the land of the Sadudai to the city Kalaḫ*
23. *I have received, I have sealed*
24. *the seal I have set*
25. *of the mouth Ululu a letter*
26. *I send*

NOTES. K. 5464.

Lines 16–18. If we read *alik alka* this is a repeated imperative for emphasis possibly, or *alik* is a participle, but we might read *ma-a taṣ-al-ka.* In line 18 *iṣalkani* seems to demand a verb, *ṣalâku* or *zalâku.* In K. 582, line 24, we also have *iṣalka* followed by *bila* (see S. A. Smith, *Assurb.*, III, p. 67, and Pinches' *Remarks*, p. 107). In that passage it seems possible to take the *-ka* as second personal pronoun, but that will not do in our case. The city Ku-ma-a occurs on K. 1182, where also *Aššur-riṣûa* is named, and on K. 539 the amêl *Ku-um-ma-a-a* are named. It is noteworthy that K. 561 also mentions a city *Ku-*, and that there seems only room for one more

sign; but the traces (given in Harper, *A.B.K.L.*, Vol. I, 91) do not favour *-ma*.

Line 19. *udîni*, *see* on K. 181, *obv.* 15. The sign before *la*, Mr. Strong tells me, is *ma*. *ḫarâṣṣa* seems from *ḫarâṣu*. K. 1136 has *ṭêmu ša âl Šibtu i-ḫar-ra-ṣa-an-ni išapparkani . . . . . ṭênšunu i-har-ra-ṣa-an-ni*. K. 8383, *ḫa-ra-aṣ-si; cf.* Del., *H. W.B.*, p. 292. S. A. Smith, *Assyrian Letters*, IV, 8, reads on 80–7–19, 17, *adu a-ḫar-ṣa-ni*, and gives as meaning, "until I shall come;" but with some reservation. *iḫarâṣ* occurs K. 1077, *obv.* 9, K. 79, *rev.* 14 and 24; the Talmudic $\sqrt{ḫrz}$ originally=to bore through, which would suit here.

Line 21. *šaki-il* I take to mean, "it is taken charge of," as in S. 760, line 19, but S. A. Smith there translates, "paid for;" *amêl šakil iššuri*, seems to mean, "one that has charge of birds;" *šakâlu*, to have charge of, *see* Tallqvist, *Sprache der Contracte*, p. 134; *cf.* Delitzsch, *H. W.B*, p. 319, it does not seem to me from *šaḳâlu*.

Line 22. The name of *Ariae* occurs on K. 561, in connection with *Assur-riṣûa* and the land of the Ukkai; and business in the land of Urarṭu. It is spelt *A-ri-e* instead of *Ar-ia-e*, so removing all doubt as to the first part of the name. *Aria* = *namû*, "to destroy," and is a by-name of Nergal; but in neither case is there a determinative of divinity. So that my reading still lacks confirmation.

Line 23. Aššur-riṣûa's message is dated.

Line 25. I think we must read *ma-a*, and then *bîd* = when. Mittatti the king of Zikirtu was slain by Sargon in B.C. 714. From K. 1037 we learn that the king of Assyria sent for news of the king of Urarṭu, to an official whose name is read by Strassmaier and Delitzsch as *Ḫuteru*. In his reply he mentions the land of Zikirtu. The writer's name however is spelt on K. 1067 as *Ḫu-te-šu-pu;* and I am inclined to think we should read it *Bag-tešup*, like *Bag-daddi*, for both *Tešupu* and *Daddu* are divine names. What the sense of *Bag* is I cannot tell. It would scarcely be likely that the name is *Iṣṣur-tešupu*. *Ḫu* is possibly in sense = *Amêlu*, but scarcely to be read so.

Line 26. For the phrase *raḳutê issuḫra*, *cf.* 2 Sam., i, 22.

Line 27. The spellings *U-e-si*, *Ua-a-si*, compared with Sargon's Usi are instructive. There seems to have been in Urarṭu a great partiality for the initial syllable *Ua-*; compare *Ua-ia-uš*, *U-ar-gi-in*, *U-al-lia*, *U-assurme* in Sargon. I am inclined to add *Urzana*, *Ursa*, and also possibly Ar-ṣa-bia, Ar-za-unia (which latter may be *U-a-za-un* of K. 181; in which case it may be the name of a

mountain). I hazard the conjecture that *U-ar-*, *Ur-*, *Ar*, are all closely connected; *cf.* the spellings *Urzaḫina*, *Arzuḫina*. Tiglath-Pileser III's *I-u-sa* may perhaps = *Usi*.

Line 31. *i-si-e-šu* I take to be for *issi-šu*, *i.e.*, *itti-šu*, as so common; but *Aššurn.*, II, 53, *isi-ia;* III, 12, *ušesia* given in Schrader's *Keil. Bibliothk.* are there referred to a root *asu*, seen in *usatu*, "help," *asitu*, "pole," &c. If this be accepted we should translate, "he set himself up with rejoicing," or in prosperity, or with good luck.

Line 32. At the beginning was *mâr šipri* possibly, or simply *ištu* = "from."

Lines 33–35. I am inclined to think the lost word at end of 33 was *egirtu*, and to suppose the meaning was, "concerning the letter he brought, at present I am not informed, but whatever I hear I will send."

Reverse.

Line 7. Dr. Winckler's text seemed to favour the restoration *šite'u* at the end of the line, *i.e.*, "whatever I have in charge;" but Mr. Harper's text points to an ending *-si* or *-ia*.

Line 9. (*amêl*) *zakû*, by its root meaning "be clean,"—I suppose it to mean "an envoy" here, "a picked man."

Line 12. Arṣabia is mentioned in Sargon's Annals, B.C. 714, as suffering severely from his attacks.

Line 13. *Supania* perhaps=my defence and *lu-ḫat-ti-u* could be taken=verily they have broken; *su* = *mašak* (?) with *mašak paniia;* cf. *Sennach. Prism. Insc.*, Col. V, 49, *pan maški*, but *lu-pa-ti-u* I cannot render. *Cf.* Del., *H. W. B.*, p. 296 √*ḫtt*.

Line 15. The traces lend themselves very well to *gur-pu-te*, i.e., *mutir-pu-te*, "a body guard."

Line 16. *šabâbu* means "to surround," encircle;" *šabûb* would be permansive.

Line 19, compared with line 24, leads me to think that *ḫar* goes with *-tu*, *ḫartu* = "a ring;" the king's seal ring as a warrant of authority is often named in the letters.

Line 22. The land of the Sadudai is unknown to me. *Cf.* however the proper name *Šadudu šakin mât Suḫi*, *Aššurn.*, III. And Sayce in his *Vannic Inscriptions*, No. XXXII, line 6, seems to have a king of Hittite race called *Šada'da* (*aš*).

Line 23. *ataḫar* and *aktanâk* occur together elsewhere.

K. 125.

Obverse.

1. Ana šarri beli-ia
2. Ardu-ka (m) Sin-âḫê-erba
3. lu šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia
4. šul-mu a-na (mât) (Aššur-(ki)
5. šul-mu a-na ašrâte
6. šul-mu a-na (âl) bi-rat ša šarri gab-bu
7. lib-bu ša šarri bêli-ia a-dan-niš lu ṭab
8. (amêl) maḫha-ni (mât) Ku-mu-ḫa-a-a
9. it-tal-ku-ni ma-da-tú na-ṣu-ni
10. VII ú-ra-te šá (imêr) ku-tin is-si-niš
11. na-ṣu-u-ni ma-da-tú itti (imêr) ku-tin
12. bîd ana mât Ku-mu-ḫa-a-a pa-aḳ-du
13. (amêl) maḫha-ni ina libbi-šú šú-nu
14. akalê ša ra-me-ni-šu-nu e-kul
15. i-ma-ta-ḫu-ni-e a-na (âl) Babilu
16. ú-ba-lu-ni šak-la-a an-na-ka
17. i-ma-ḫa-ru-šú-nu a-ki ša šarru bêli
18. ni-ḳa-bu-u-ni ar-ḫiš liš-pa-ru-ni
19. šik-(meš) unnubu-(meš) is-si-niš na-ṣu-u-ni
20. (amêl) dam-ḳar-ê iḳ-ṭi-bu-u-ni
21. ma-a VII biltu ištu libbi ni-ip-ti-ar

Edge.

22. ma-a mât Ku-mu-ḫa-a-a la im-ma-gur
23. ma-a ma'-at-tú-nu la-ta-bi-ra
24. ma-a lu-bi-lu (f) iš-para-te

Reverse.

25. ša šarri am-ma ina (?) li šim ḳit
26. šarru bêli liš-pu-ra ana ma-an-ni
27. i-da-nu-ši-na-a-ni

K. 125. Translation.

1–7. The salutation seems to have been identical with that in the other three letters of Sennacherib.

8. *The magistrates of the land of the Kummuḫḫai*

9. *have come, tribute they brought*

10. 7 *mares of the mule kind singly* (*apiece*)
11. *they brought the tribute with the mules*
12. *as to the land of the Kummuḫḫai was appointed*
13. *The magistrates in its midst they*
14. *their own food eat*
15. *they were directing themselves towards Babylon*
16. *they were brought, were cared for here,*
17. *they furnished them, as the king my lord*
18. *we have told, quickly let him send*
19. *clothes, forage, singly they brought*
20. *the merchants have said*
21. *that* 7 *talents from our midst we will pay*
22. *that the land of the Kummuḫḫai are not pleased*
23. *that our produce is reduced*
24. *that let him bring the king's weavers*
25. . . . . .
26. *the king my lord let him send to whom*
27. *they shall give them.*

Notes. K. 125.

Line 16. *šaklâ* might be permansive from *šakâlu*, "to care for." *annaka; cf.* K. 609, 10, *anaku annaka ina ali Duršarrukin;* K. 1201, *obv.* 11, *u ka-a-a-manu mâr šarri bêli libbu išakananni adu mâr šarri annakanni ana šulme ana âl Ninûa lâ illakuni;* K. 1274, *rev.* 3, *annušim nisê annaka šunu ittalkunu ina muḫḫia;* K. 591, edge, *anaku annaka* K. 1880 and two passages in Strassmaier; *ša šarru bêli iḳbûni mâ ištu annaka ištu annakamma upasu ma'dâni* and *attiši annaka*, etc. I think *annaka* is related to *annu*, "this,' as *ammaka* is to *ammu*, "that;" *see* K. 113, 10, *ištu ammaka.* So I take *annaka* = "here," *ammaka* = "there;" for the ending *cf. ekâ*, "where," *a-a-ka*, "where," *uddukam* and *udda akku*, "at day-break." Further, see K. 1242, *allaka azaza ina pân niḳê ulâ annaka anaku;* and note that on K. 554, 16 we have *ammaka*, rev. 4, *annaka.*

Line 23. *ma'attu* = "abundance, produce;" *ma'adutu* is associated with *aplutu*, *tabru* in II, R. 42, lines 25–27.

Line 25. I can attempt no translation of this line as it stands.

Line 27. *idanušinâni*, *cf.* D.A.G. § 56.

Addendum.

When the first part of this article was written I had not seen the fragment Rm. 2 II, 14 referred to by Harper (*Z.A.*, VIII, p. 342). He published the first two lines, restoring them much as I have done; only that in the other letters of Sennacherib, there is no example of his *lu-u* at the beginning of line 2. Sennacherib (or his amanuensis) always writes *lû* simply. It is quite open to say that the text contains nine lines on the reverse and three on the edge. The text is not easy to read, owing to its defacement. But as Professor Strong first, and then Mr. Pinches have collated the text for me I feel quite safe. There is not enough left to make a connected translation possible. But the exact way in which the first five lines can be restored from the other Sennacherib letters, removes all reasonable doubt of its authorship. The restorations are in square brackets.

As to its contents there is little to say. I think there is no doubt that in obverse 6 the name is Bêl-eṭir, of whom I can with certainty say nothing as yet. In line 2 of reverse we have the name of Nabû-etir-napšâti, probably the same who, in the twelfth year of Sargon, was *amêl aba šá amêl râb-šaḳi* at Kalaḫ (Strassmaier, *A.V.*, No. 5748). On the last line but one of the text, the god Nabû seems to be setting out from Kalaḫ. Compare the statements in II. R. 69 concerning the gods of Dûr-Šarrukîn. That Nabû had a chief seat of worship at Kalaḫ is well-known.

Rm. 2, II, 14.

Obverse.

1. [ ]
2. [ ]
3. [ ]
4. [ ]
5. [ ]
6. [ ]
7. [ ]

Reverse.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.

Edge.

10.
11.
12.

THE DESCENT OF PROPERTY IN THE EARLY PERIODS OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

By Miss M. A. Murray.

In many tombs of the IVth, Vth, and VIth dynasties, are found processions of farm-servants, each servant personifying, and being associated with the name of, a farm belonging to the deceased During the last few months I have devoted my time to studying these lists of farms, and I have epitomised the result of my researches in the following pages.

I find that many of the names occur in different tombs, and from this it seems possible to obtain some information as to the descent of property in those times. The period covered is, roughly speaking, between four and five hundred years; but, as the earlier lists give very little information, and farm-lists become rare in the VIth dynasty, we find that it is to the tombs of the Vth dynasty that we owe most.

There are very few authorities who even mention this subject. and lists of farm-names are to be found only in Mariette's *Mastabas*, Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, Petrie's *Medum*, and Dümichen's *Resultate*. Besides these, Professor Flinders Petrie has kindly allowed me to make use of some hitherto unpublished notes which he made in 1882 on two tombs at Gizeh, one of which has since been destroyed.

In comparing the farm-names I have omitted all the cartouches and personal names with which they are compounded. It is evident that when property changed hands, the owner gave his own name to his farms; Pehenuka, Ptah-hotep, Khennu, and Nefer-art-nef add their own names to quite half the number of their farms. This change in names is shown very clearly; *e.g.*, the farm Zesert is called Zesert-Nefer-art-nef in the tomb of Nefer-art-nef, and Khennu Zesert

in the tomb of Khennu. The royal cartouches are changed in the same way, although the name of an important king continues sometimes for several generations. Assa, the 8th king of the Vth dynasty, appears to have given his name to many farms, ousting the cartouches of most of his predecessors. For instance, Nefer-hesiut in the tomb of Ptah-hotep is Horakau-Neferhesiut; in the tomb of Senezem-ab we have Assa-Nefer-hesiut. Senezem-ab seems to have been a great admirer of Assa, as no less than nineteen of his farms are compounded with this king's cartouche. Again, we find the farm Uakh-hen occurring in four different tombs, and in each case compounded with the name of a different king,—Khufu, Userkaf, Horakau, and Assa. This shows that the cartouches and personal names are not an integral part of the farm-name (and are not to be depended upon for identifying the farm), being changed for obvious reasons on the death of the owner or of the king.

I have compared not only the farm-names, but also, as far as possible, the relationships of the owners. When we find the recurrence of personal names as well as of farm-names—as in the case of Nenkhetefka and Thy—there is strong evidence that the property descended from one to the other. The earliest possible date for the owners of the property is indicated by the cartouche of the latest king found in the tomb. Thus—to take the case of Nenkhetefka and Thy—the latest cartouche in the tomb of Nenkhetefka is that of Sahu-ra (B.C. 3699), in the tomb of Thy it is that of Ra-en-user (B.C. 3500), an interval of about ninety years. Then again we find that the name of Nenkhetefka's wife was Neferhoteps, which was also the name of Thy's wife, and five farm-names which occur in Nenkhetefka's lists occur also in the lists of Thy. We have here a man whose wife is called Neferhoteps, and who owns farms called Ant, Art, Hebnen, Nebes, and Shet. Two or three generations later we find another man whose wife is also named Neferhoteps, and who also owns the farms Ant, Art, Hebnen, Nebes, and Shet. Of these five names, two—Ant and Shet—are so common as to be inconclusive in themselves, but carry weight when they occur with other names. The inference therefore is very strong that the later man obtained his property from the earlier, possibly through his wife, who may have been a grand-daughter of the first Neferhoteps. Out of sixteen farms, Thy holds nine in common with Pehenuka, which argues a descent of property from Pehenuka to Thy; Pehenuka's date being that of Sahu-ra (B.C. 3690), Thy's that of Ra-en-user

(B.C. 3500). Ptah-hotep, again, holds seven of Pekenuka's farms, of which five occur in Thy's list, besides two which Thy has acquired from an unknown source, and one which occurs in the list of Semnefer (G. | 82), as well as in that of Thy. Here we see a strong connection between Thy and Ptah-hotep; but as very few relationships are given in either tomb, it is not possible to prove a direct descent.

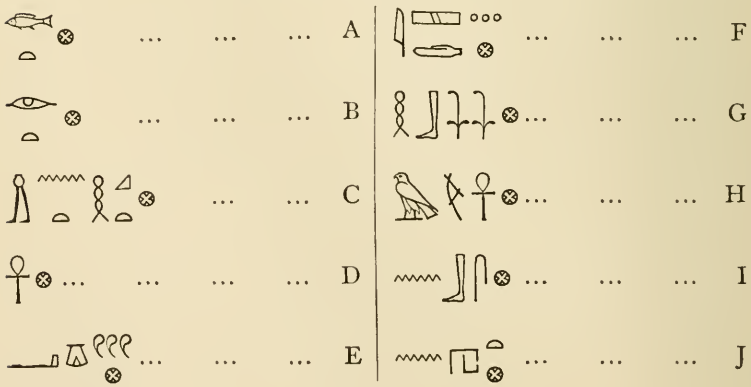
Between Pehenuka and Depemankh also there appears a connection, as both hold the farms Art, Ant-hekt, Hebnen, and Shet.

There are in all the lists about 450 farm-names altogether, of these about 40 recur in different tombs. I give a list of these names with reference letters for the sake of convenience. Many of the names recur so often that this list really represents about 120 out of the 450, or rather more than a quarter of the entire number. Of the rest most of the names appear only once, and cannot be identified in any other tomb.

I also give a diagram showing the descent of property, and where relationships have been ascertained I have inserted them. The diagram is intended merely to show the descent of property through different hands, and is not meant as a genealogy of the persons mentioned.

I think that I have shown how important it is that these lists of farms should be carefully copied wherever they may be found. It is from this source alone that we can hope to obtain any information as to the descent of landed property in the earliest period of Egyptian history.

List of Farm-Names.



K
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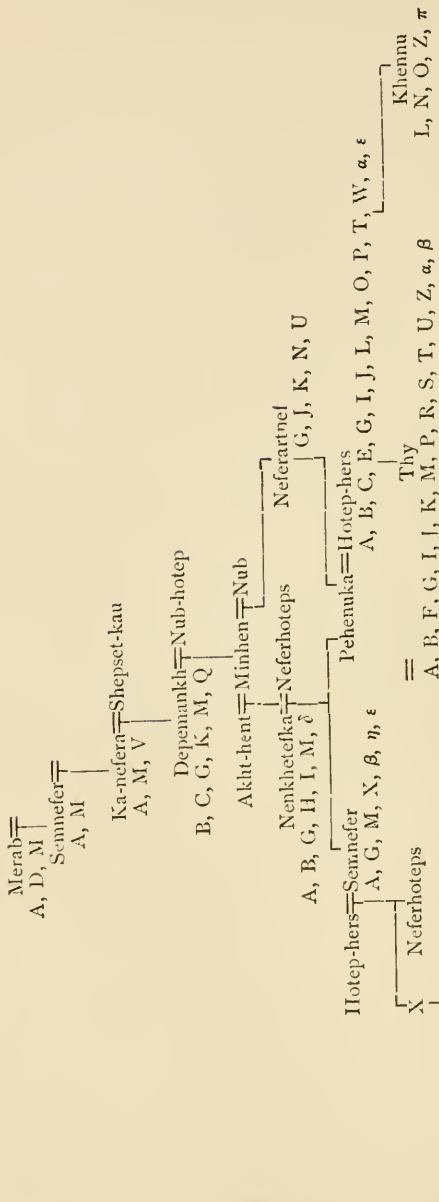
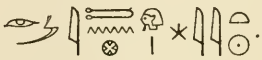

Merab
A, D, M
Semnefer
A, M
Ka-nefera
A, M, V
Shepset-kau
Depemankh
B, C, G, K, M, Q
Nub-hotep
Akht-hent
Minhen
Nub
Nenkhetefka
A, B, G, H, I, M, δ
Neferhoteps
Neferartnel
G, J, K, N, U
Hotep-hers
Semnefer
A, G, M, X, β, η, ε
Pehenuka
Hotep-hers
A, B, C, E, G, I, J, L, M, O, P, T, W, α, ε
Thy
A, B, F, G, I, J, K, M, P, R, S, T, U, Z, α, β
Khennu
L, N, O, Z, π
Rakapu
B, G, J, M
Neferhoteps
Ptah-hotep
A, B, D, F, G, H, I, K, M, Q, V, W, X, Y, Z, β, γ, δ, ε, η, θ, λ, μ.

Merab	L. D., II, 21.
Semnefer	L. D., II, 28.
Kanefera	G. | 82.
Depemankh	M. M., p. 196.
Nenkhetefka	M. M., p. 305.
Nefer-art-nef	M. M., p. 324.
Semnefer	G | 82.
Pehenuka...	L. D., II, 46.
Thy	D. R., Pl. II.
Khennu	M. M., p. 185.
Rakapu	M. M., p. 276.
Ptah-hotep	M. M., 353, and D. R., Pl. XV.

AKHUENATEN AND QUEEN TII.

By Alfred C. Bryant, B.A., and F. W. Read.

In a recent number of the *Proceedings*,* Dr. Wiedemann published some important notes on questions of interest in connection with the reign of Ȧḫu-en-ȧten. On two of the points with which he dealt his conclusions appear to us to be hardly warranted by the evidence adduced; and as this particular period is one to which we have devoted some attention,† we feel justified in detailing the reasons which compel us to dissent from so eminent an authority.

(1.) In the first section of his article, Dr. Wiedemann publishes a in which one of the blessings enumerated for the deceased is  . The partial erasure of the name of on this monument shows, as Dr. Wiedemann points out, that it "belongs to the time before the reformation of Chu-en-ȧten." But he contends at the same time that the peculiar spelling of the phrase just quoted shows that the stela must belong to the years 4—6 of this king's reign. "The determinative ⊗ instead of ⊙ behind in line 4 proves, that at that time the town of Aten was already spoken of, and that the thought of this place induced the scribe to err."

Even if this inscription were otherwise carefully written, such an error would afford a very narrow foundation for any theory as to its date; but the fact that in the space of a few short lines we find such other blunders (which are duly noted by Dr. Wiedemann) as

* XVII, pp. 152—157. "Inscriptions of the time of Amenophis IV."

† See "An Inscription of Khuenaten," in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XV, pp. 206—215.

for , for , and for , the well-known appellative of the god Ânpu,* is sufficient, to show that we are dealing with the work of a thoroughly careless and incompetent scribe. Of course there may be some special reason, apart from general ignorance, for the commission of any particular blunder in writing, but it is hardly safe to assume it, and still less is it safe to found a theory on the assumption. But in the present instance it seems that an equally valid reason, other than that assumed by Dr. Wiedemann, might be suggested for the scribe's error. The substitution of for , in addition to that of ⊗ for ⊙, might well lead us to infer that the engraver of the inscription had been furnished with a not-too-well-written manuscript to copy; and that provided his transcription of each individual character were a *possible* one, he was not careful about the general sense.

Even granting this, however, it might conceivably be urged that the fact of his being accustomed to see the determinative of a town written after the word , influenced the scribe in his transcription. But, in fact, we hardly ever find either or written with ⊗ as a determinative, but almost always with ⊙; so that the influence of habit would be entirely the other way.† We cannot, therefore, admit that the spelling proves that the inscription belongs to a time when "the town of Aten was already spoken of;" and as the simple mention of the sun's

* Mr. Renouf has already suggested that a similar mistake might be the origin of the reading in two copies of Chapter CX of the Book of the Dead. See *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XVII, p. 99. The present case confirms his suggestion.

† See for examples of the usual way of spelling both these names, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, Bl. 91 *a*, 91 *i*, 92, 93, 94, and 97 *e*. That the determinative circle employed is intended for ⊙, and not ⊗, may be seen from 106 *b*, where the latter determinative is clearly marked in the expression . See also Prisse, *Monuments*, Pl. XII, line 4. In Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 105 *b*, and *c*, the sign dependent from the circle in both and is an additional corroboration.

disk might occur in almost any period of ancient Egyptian history, there does not seem to us any reason for ascribing this monument to the reign of Âḫu-en-âten at all.

(2.) In the fifth section of his article Dr. Wiedemann attempts to show that Tii, the wife of Âmenḥetpu III, was not actually the mother, but the mother-in-law of Âḫu-en-âten. This theory was put forward ten years ago in an important article by M. Bouriant,* but his argument was too briefly stated to be in any way conclusive. "La reine Tii," he says, "qui est, en effet, représentée dans l'un des tombeaux de Tell el-Amarna, comme venant faire visite à l'*ombre de Rā*, dans le temple d'Aten, est qualifiée de 'royale mère de la femme royale.' Khunaten n'était donc pas son fils, mais simplement son gendre."† To this statement we can only reply by the direct negative. So far as we can see, Tii is *not* styled "royal mother of the royal wife," but "royal mother, great royal wife."

Dr. Wiedemann's own position is not quite clear; but as he apparently allows that means "royal mother, great royal wife," while he seems to consider the meaning of to be "royal mother of the great royal wife," we conclude that he takes the of the second phrase as a preposition, as if it were found written . This of course is quite a possible construction; but we, in common presumably with the majority of Egyptologists, had taken as a complementary sign to , and considered the as at once performing the duty of a complementary to , and at the same time joining with in spelling "mother." According to this view the phrase might be written out as follows: .

* *Recueil de travaux*, Tom VI, pp. 41—56. A Thèbes. In *Le Livre des Rois*, by MM. E. Brugsch and Bouriant the same theory also appears. Under No. 351 are arranged cartouches of "la reine Tii," and under No. 375 cartouches of the "mère de la reine Tii;" but it is difficult to see what principle has guided the editors in their arrangement.

† *Recueil de travaux*. Tom VI, p. 52. The scene referred to is published in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 101. Curiously enough Tii's titles are given in one case in this plate in a form which compels even Dr. Wiedemann to admit that she is sometimes styled Royal Mother.

. To this construction also we do not think that exception can possibly be taken by any Egyptian scholar; and it appears to be supported by such an arrangement of the characters as we find in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 100*d*, , where it might plausibly be argued that the is written above in order to exhibit both the groups and clearly before the eye. It is true that Dr. Wiedemann appears to consider this method of writing the title a mistake; but he has surely failed to observe that it occurs at least as frequently as the form,* and consequently has as good a right to be considered correct.

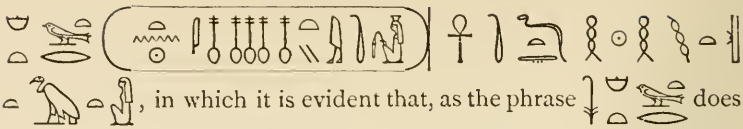
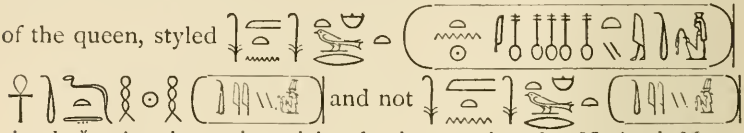
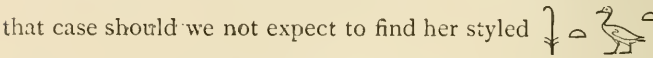
But what appears to us to be really decisive of the question is a method of writing the title in which the two groups which compose it are reversed,† and instead of we have . This must read "great royal wife, royal mother," and if has the simple value of "royal mother" in this instance, there can be no valid reason why it should be assumed to have the additional value of "royal mother of" in the other instances.

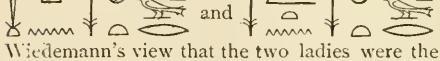
In connection with this question the titles which are given to Net'emit-Māut, who was admittedly a blood-relation of the queen of Ȧḫu-en-ȧten, are especially valuable.‡ She is designated

* See for instance, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 101, 102. In the second of these passages we have the omitted. It is especially worthy of note that this occurs in writing the name and dignities of the same scribe as in 100*d*. In one case he is and in the other . In view of the fact that , , and are universally admitted to be equivalents in other places, we think the burden rests with Dr. Wiedemann to prove that they are not so here.

† Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 101. See *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XV, p. 213; Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, II, Taf. XXVIII, 374*b*; and E. Brugsch and Bouriant, *Livre des Rois*, Nos. 351, 375.

‡ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 109. See also Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. XXIX, 397; and E. Brugsch and Bouriant, *Livre des Rois*, No. 374.


, in which it is evident that, as the phrase does not refer to her, the name of the queen to whom it does refer has been inserted in order to remove ambiguity. On the analogy of this title, therefore, we should expect to find Tii, if she really were the mother of the queen, styled 
and not
simply.* Another point might also be mentioned. Net'emit-Māut, being sister to Nefertiit, must likewise, on Dr. Wiedemann's theory, be a daughter of Tii and presumably of Âmenḥetpu III. But in that case should we not expect to find her styled  on the monuments? This title, however, does not appear to have been given to her, and we may therefore infer that she was not of Egyptian royal descent, and that her sister Nefertiit consequently was not the daughter of Tii.† These considerations are not of course in themselves conclusive; but they add considerable weight to the previous arguments, which were drawn from a review of the different forms of Tii's titles found on the monuments.

* It might possibly be urged that the similarity of the phrases  and is an argument in favour of Dr. Wiedemann's view that the two ladies were the sister and mother of the queen. But it is not safe to take a phrase away from its context; it might equally well be argued that the very fact of this similarity of phrase compelled the insertion of the queen's name in the description of her sister in order to differentiate the two forms of title.

† A list of the children of Âmenḥetpu III appears to be given in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, Bl. 86*a* and *b*; but it is too defaced to be of any use on this question.

COPTIC FRAGMENTS.

May 13, 1895.

Dear Sir,

During a recent visit to Egypt I procured the following Coptic fragments :—

(*a*) Vellum, one leaf, about 12 in. × $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., pages ⲙⲙⲟ—ⲡ̅ (49—50), written in red and black in a large rather careless hand. Contains the Sahidic version of Gen. xiii, 11 to xiv, 7. Gen. xiv, 2–7 is wanting in Ciasca's edition of the Sahidic Old Testament, and is, so far as I know, unpublished.

This leaf is said to have come from near Akhmîm.

(*b*) Vellum, portions of two leaves, about $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $3\frac{1}{4}$ in., containing the Sahidic version of part of Psalm civ (cv), 6–20, pages 129–132.

This fragment was purchased in Cairo with some others containing portions of the New Testament.

I remain,

Yours' faithfully,

John E. Gilmore.

5th August, 1895.

Dear Mr. Rylands,

The Coptic fragments which you have sent me, are, so far as I have identified them, parts of the Sahidic version of the Bible. But it is possible that the manuscript from which they were taken was liturgical in character, and only biblical as far as containing extracts more or less copious, from the Holy Scriptures.

In the following copy of the larger extracts, I have made no attempt to restore the accentuation of the whole, but have only retained the signs of accentuation in the words where they are visible.

There are about 12 letters in each line of the MS., and the small fragments are in such mutilated condition that no context can be presented. The larger fragments are well worth publishing. I wish we had more of them.

P. le Page Renouf.

Genesis, Chapter xiii.

11. . . . ⲧⲡⲉⲣⲓⲭⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲟⲣⲇⲁⲛⲏⲥ· ⲁⲗⲱⲧ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲏ̅ ⲙⲙⲁ ⲛϣⲁ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ·
ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ.
12. ⲁ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲙ ⲟⲩⲱϩ ϩⲙ̅ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛϫⲁⲛⲁⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡ
ⲗⲱⲧ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϩ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲣⲓⲭⲟⲣⲟⲥ
ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲥⲟϫⲟⲙⲁ.
13. ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲏ̅ ⲥⲟϫⲟⲙⲁ ⲛⲉ ϩⲉⲡⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ
ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡ̅ⲣⲉϥⲣ̅ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̅ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ.
14. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁⲙ ⲙ̅ⲡⲛ̅ⲥⲁⲧⲣⲉ ⲗⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲣϫ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ. ϫⲉ ϥⲓⲁⲧⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲙ̅
ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲙϩⲓⲧ ⲙ̅ⲡ ⲡⲓⲛⲃⲧ ⲙ̅ⲡ
ⲡⲉⲙⲡ̅ⲧ ⲙ̅ⲡ ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ.
15. ϫⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲕ
ⲙ̅ⲡ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ϣⲁ ⲉⲡⲉϩ.
16. ⲁⲩⲱ ϯⲛⲁⲣ̅ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϣⲱ ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲁϩ.
ⲉϣϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ϭⲟⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲉⲡ ⲡϣⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲁϩ
ⲉⲧⲉϥϣⲓⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡ ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲉϣ̅ⲥ̅.
17. ϫⲉ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙ̅ⲡ ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ϣⲁ ⲉⲡⲉϩ.
18. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϩ
ϩⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲛⲛϣⲏⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲃⲣⲏ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲉϥϣⲟⲟⲛ ϩⲛ
ϫⲉⲃⲣⲟⲛ ⲁϥⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲟⲩⲑⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. ⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̅ⲡⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲣⲫⲁⲣ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲁⲣ· ⲁⲣⲓⲱϫ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲗⲗⲁⲁⲣ·
ϫⲟⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲩⲟⲙⲟⲣ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ ⲑⲁⲣⲕⲁⲁ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ
ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ.
2. ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲕ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̅ⲥⲟ-
ⲟⲙⲁ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ ⲃⲁⲣⲥⲁ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̅ⲩⲟⲙⲟⲣⲣⲁ· ⲙ̅ⲡ̅
ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲁⲁⲣ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲁⲙⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ ⲥⲛⲙⲟⲃⲟⲣ·
ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲃⲟⲓⲙ· ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̅ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲕ· ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ̈
ⲧⲉ ⲥⲛⲩⲱⲣ.
3. Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲛⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩϥⲓ̈ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲛⲩ· ⲉϫⲙ̅ⲙ̅ ⲡⲓⲙⲙ
ⲙⲗ̅ϩ̅ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁⲛ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲙⲙⲟⲩ·
4. ⲁⲩⲣ̅ϩ̅ⲙⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲛ̅ϫⲟⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲟⲙⲟⲣ· ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲉ
ⲛ̅ⲣⲟⲙⲙⲉ· ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲧϣⲟⲙⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲣⲟⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁ-
ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.
5. ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲙⲉϩⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲧⲁϥⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲣⲟⲙⲙⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲛϭⲓ
ϫⲟⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲟⲙⲟⲣ· ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ ⲛ̅ⲉⲣⲱ ⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ.
ⲁⲩϭⲟϫϭⲉϫ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲩⲁⲥ· ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲣⲱⲑ
ⲕⲁⲣⲛⲁⲓⲙ· ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ ϩⲉⲛϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϫⲟⲟⲣ ⲛⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲙⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲩⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ.
6. ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ ⲛⲉϫⲟⲣⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ̅ ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲉⲓⲣ·
ϣⲁ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲧⲉⲣⲉⲙⲛⲑⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲫⲁⲣⲣⲁⲛ· ⲧⲁⲓ̈
ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲣⲛⲙⲙⲟⲥ. ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲛ
ⲧⲡⲛⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ· ⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲕⲁϧⲛⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩ-
ϭⲟϫϭϫ.

PSALM CV. (*Sept.*)

6. . . . . ⲛⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ . . .
7. [ⲛ]ⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥ . . . .
10. . . . . ⲧⲁⲩⲙⲙⲁ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲓⲛ̅ⲗ̅ ⲉⲩⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ.
11. ⲉϥϫⲱⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϯⲛⲁϯⲡⲁⲕ ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲡϫⲁⲡⲁⲁⲛ
ⲛⲥⲕ . . . ⲛⲟⲩϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ.

The fragment continues up to *v.* 20.

NOTES DE PHILOLOGIE EGYPTIENNE.

Par Karl Piehl.

(*Suite.*)*

97. L'édition des textes des pyramides de Saqqârah venant de paraître au complet,† nous sommes maintenant en mesure de jeter un coup d'œil d'ensemble sur cette littérature, la plus ancienne du monde. Nous pouvons aussi à loisir en étudier la langue, tâche d'autant plus curieuse que cette langue offre des différences très notables, quant à la grammaire, par rapport à d'autres époques, plus connues, de l'égyptien.

M'intéressant tout particulièrement au dictionnaire égyptien, je me permettrai cette fois de continuer ce que j'ai commencé dans une note antérieure ‡—j'entends examiner la manière dont l'éditeur a traduit et expliqué une série de mots qui se voient aux textes des pyramides. À ce sujet, je crois devoir faire remarquer que la plupart de ces mots se rencontrent dans des textes d'autres périodes de l'histoire égyptienne, quoique ce fait quelque fois paraisse être dissimulé par l'écriture que tel ou tel mot revêt, quant à l'ancien empire.

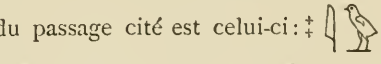
(*a*) . Ce radical, très fréquent, signifie originairement, "accomplir, finir, achever, fermer," etc. De la signification originaire derive fort logiquement celle de négation, comme je l'ai relevé ailleurs. Aux textes de Pepi II, se rencontre (l. 767) l'expression suivante :

* Voir *Proceedings*, XVI, page 254.

† Vers le milieu du mois de Juillet passé. L'article même porte la date du 22 décembre, 1892, ce qui n'émpêche pas, que les épreuves en aient pu être corrigées 4 ou 5 mois plus tard. Voir *Recueil de Vieweg*, XIV, Livraisons 3 et 4.

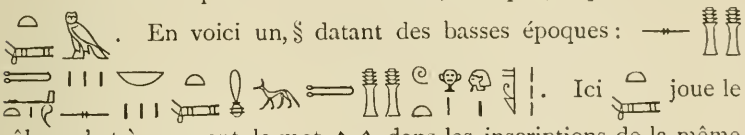
‡ *Proceedings*, XV, page 249 et suiv.

qu'a traduite* M. Maspero de la sorte: "Salut à toi," *Œil d'Horus*, qu'il a *muni* de ses deux mains *créatrices*." Ici je crois devoir traduire: "Salut à toi, œil d'Horus, qu'il a *rempli* de ses deux mains *réunies*." Il est vrai que le copte possède un verbe ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲟ, ⲑⲁⲗⲓⲟ,† ayant le sens de "créer, faire," mais ce sens n'a pas été reconnu jusqu'ici pour le mot de la langue ancienne; et du reste, le mot copte qui équivaut à est plutôt ⲧⲱⲗ, ⲑⲱⲗ.

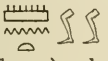
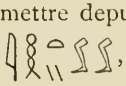
Très-instructif pour le sens du passage cité est celui-ci: ‡ 

.

"Il a parcouru les deux ciels entiers, il a passé les deux parties de l'Égypte."

Nous n'avons pas besoin de nous borner à l'ancien empire pour trouver des exemples du sens "entier, complet," quant au mot . En voici un,§ datant des basses époques:  . Ici joue le rôle, qu'a très souvent le mot dans les inscriptions de la même période.—Pour un autre exemple, on peut consulter Naville, *Litanie*, page 18.

Le sens "entier, complet, tout" que nous attribuons à dérive naturellement des significations, "accomplir, achever," que tout le monde a adoptées pour ce vocable.

(*b*)  signifie, "jambes, cuisses," comme les égyptologues s'accordent à admettre depuis longtemps. Dans cet emploi, le mot est synonyme de  , comme nous le prouve une comparaison

* *Recueil*, XII, page 160.

† Ce verbe pourrait bien être l'équivalent de l'ancien , qui aurait subit des changements phonétiques, par suite d'un jeu de l'analogie.

‡ *Pyramide d'Ounas*, l. 514. M. Maspero a ici très bien rendu par "entier."

§ Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 306.

entre les deux exemples suivants: * et .†

Par contre ne signifie pas "pieds," et le passage que voici: ‡ ne peut se traduire, "fille de Ra, qui est *sur les pieds* de Ra," comme le veut M. MASPERO,§ mais "fille de Ra, qui est sur *les jambes*—c'est-à-dire *sur le sein*—du dieu." Cette différence d'acception paraîtra peut-être insignifiante, mais elle ne l'est pas, si l'on regarde le rôle mythologique qu'elle implique dans l'un et l'autre cas. Celle qui est *sur les pieds* du dieu-solaire le foule sous les pieds; elle est par conséquent son ennemi. Celle qui est *sur le sein* du dieu est intime avec lui, et c'est là un rôle qui convient à la fille du dieu.

Évitons donc d'employer le sens "pieds" pour le mot .

(*c*) nous est déjà connu par le Dictionnaire de BRUGSCH, qui y attache fort bien la signification "pilote." Le mot en question se retrouve aux textes des pyramides dans la phrase suivante: ‖ ce qu'a rendu M. MASPERO¶ de la sorte "biens de *qui est dans l'œil* de la barque divine;" et aussi dans l'expression suivante ⊙,** traduite par M. MASPERO,†† de la sorte: "gâteaux à *qui est dans l'œil* de Ra."

Traduisons "biens du pilote de la barque divine," "gâteaux du pilote de Ra," les deux passages susmentionnés.

(*d*) . Ce mot se rencontre dans les inscriptions de la pyramide de Merenra, où à la ligne 769, on lit ceci: ce qui a été traduit: ‡‡ "car c'est Mirinrî qui empoigne la couronne blanche *liée* à la

* *Pyramide de Pepi I*, l. 401.
† BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, page 461.
‡ *Pyramide de Pepi II*, l. 956.
§ *Recueil*, XII, page 184.
‖ *Pyramide de Pepi II*, l. 625 = *Teta*, l. 91, = *Merenra*, l. 241.
¶ *Recueil*, V, page 15.
** *Pyramide d'Ounas*, l. 184.
†† *Recueil*, III, page 197.
‡‡ *Recueil*, XI, page 27.

couronne verte," truduction qui réellement répond au fonds de notre passage. Toute fois, c'est par pur hazard que cette concordance entre forme et fonds s'est établie. Car dans la traduction citée, [hieroglyph] n'a pas été rendu; et [hieroglyph] ne signifie pas "lier." Il est vrai, que BRUGSCH * depuis longtemps nous a fait connaître la racine [hieroglyph] "lier," mais cette racine n'a guère à faire avec notre groupe [hieroglyph].

Ce dernier est à regarder comme une variante ou une forme dialectale du vocable [hieroglyph] qui notoirement dénote le croc qui orne la couronne rouge [hieroglyph].

Notre passage se traduit donc de la manière que voici: "c'est Merenra qui saisit la couronne blanche qui s'appuie sur le croc de la couronne verte."

(*e*) [hieroglyph] "racine." Ce prétendu groupe ne m'est connu que d'un seul passage de texte—Pepi II, l. 662—où se lit: [hieroglyph], ce qu'a traduit M. MASPERO de la sorte: "ce jour de repousser les *Rayonnants* qui te disent *la racine* de Pepi Noferkerî.—*Dire:* JA. HAI."

Il est évident que [hieroglyph] de ce passage doit se couper en deux: [hieroglyph] "ceci" et [hieroglyph] "père," ce dernier titre appliqué au roi défunt, qui souvent s'appelle "père," dans les textes des pyramides. La fin de notre citation signifie donc "dire ceci, ô père Pepi, à savoir *Ta. Haà.*" Quant au début, il me semble douteux qu'il existe un verbe [hieroglyph] "repousser." Je lirais plutôt [hieroglyph], ce qui fournit un mot fréquent et dont l'emploi est connu. D'ailleurs le mot "racine" s'écrit [hieroglyph] aux textes des pyramides.

Évitons donc d'adopter le mot inexact [hieroglyph] "racine."

* *Wörterbuch* VII, page 1174.

(*f*) . Ce mot, il y a longtemps, a été expliqué par M. Le Page Renouf,* comme signifiant "vapeur," acception que, entre autres, Brugsch † a cru devoir admettre. M. Maspero le traduit partout par "flamme," comme dans cette expression-ci: qu'il a traduite: "Ils élèvent Pepi Noferkerî au ciel, au ciel, sur la flamme de l'encens." ‡ Nous préférerions traduire de la sorte: "Ils *enlèvent* Pepi vers le ciel, dans les vapeurs de l'encens." Ces dernières paroles nous paraissent plausibles, car elles répondent à ce que l'âme exaltée peut sentir au milieu des bouffées d'encens qui s'élèvent vers le haut—et il ne faut pas oublier que le langage des textes des pyramides est un langage concret, emprunté en grande partie à la vie de tous les jours.

De même, le passage suivant: ne signifie pas "sa bouche se manifeste par la flamme de *la grande rosée*," § car la rosée n'a pas de flamme. Il faut plutôt traduire, "il sort sur la vapeur de la grande rosée," et par là on se sert d'une expression parfaitement logique, car la rosée se transforme en vapeur ou résulte de vapeur.

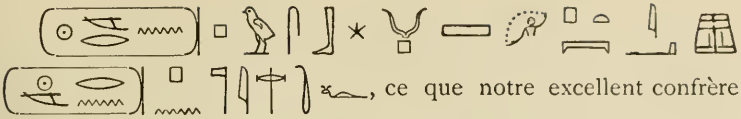
Gardons alors pour le mot le sens "vapeur," établi et admis par tout le monde, et effaçons celui de "flamme," introduit par M. Maspero.

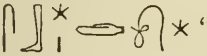
(*g*) mot jusqu'ici inconnu, qui selon M. Maspero fournirait un nouveau nom d'astre. Voici le passage || d'où le prétendu vocable a été tiré:

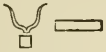
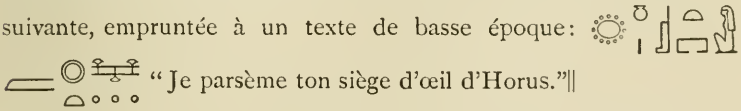
* *Zeitschrift*, 1877, page 107. † *Wörterbuch*, VI, page 859.

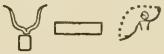
‡ *Recueil de Vieweg*, XII, page 184. La traduction "élever," proposée par M. V. Loret et adoptée par M. Maspero pour , a été montrée être inexacte par nous (*Proceedings*, XII, page 374). Le passage d'Ounas (l. 493) montre l'inanité de la traduction "élever" pour le verbe en question, à moins qu'on n'établisse l'équation: *élever* = *baisser*, ce qu serait porter atteinte à la langue française.

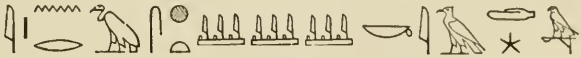
§ *Pepi II*, ligne 747. || *Pyramide de Merenra*, ligne 765.


, ce que notre excellent confrère avait rendu par : "c'est *Mirinrî*, l'astre *Ouapshou*, et le ciel admet ce *Pepi* (en lui) comme dieu défenseur."* L'explication que nous voudrions soutenir dans ce cas, a à peu près la forme suivante : "*Merenrā* est une étoile qui parsème le ciel (*de rayons*) ; ce Pepi monte, comme dieu défenseur."

Contre l'acception de M. MASPERO parlent plusieurs particularités. Ainsi, le groupe n'a pas le sens transitif ; † pour en avoir, il aurait fallu insérer le préfixe , caractéristique des causatifs égyptiens. Puis, une expression "l'astre Ouapshou" s'écrirait plutôt , c'est-à-dire déterminée par une étoile. Cfr.  "l'étoile du matin."‡

Le groupe  nous est connu depuis longtemps, et BRUGSCH l'a déjà insére dans son grand dictionnaire.§ Toutefois le sens "illuminer, éclairer," que l'éminent savant allemand attache au mot en question, n'est que secondaire. La signification originaire est peut-être : "parsemer, jeter ça et là," comme pour l'expression suivante, empruntée à un texte de basse époque :  "Je parsème ton siège d'œil d'Horus."‖

Éliminons donc le prétendu vocable  "l'astre Ouapshou."

(*h*) "Kaïd," nom d'étoile selon l'éditeur des textes des pyramides. Le passage où a été relevé ce nom nouveau est celui-ci : ¶ 

* *Recueil de Vieweg*, XI, page 26. † Voir plus loin de notre article.

‡ *Pyramide de Pepi II*, ligne 948.

§ *Hierogl. dem.*, *Wörterbuch*, I, page 58.

‖ DÜMICHEN, *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*, pl. 47.

¶ *Pyramide de Teta*, ligne 239 = *Pyramide d'Ounas*, ligne 419.

"O terreur des champs de *Kaïd* et *d'Apaou-an-sibou*, lorsqu'ils ont vu le pilier de Konsit,"* comme l'a traduit M. Maspero. Je ne crois pas être trop hardi en écartant comme un mot composé, ce qui nous autorise à lire le groupe que le suit *àaṭ*. Par là, nous obtenons un mot compréhensible au point de vue étymologique, tandisque *Kaïd* reste inexplicable.

J'imagine que ceux qui connaissent l'astronomie égyptienne pourront établer un lien intime—non seulement sous le rapport de l'étymologie !—entre et .

Pour le moment, il me suffit d'avoir écarté le prétendu mot " nom d'étoile."

(*i*) Sous cette forme, les textes des pyramides donnent *un* mot que l'éditeur en a cru devoir couper *en deux*, et qu'il traduit, "embrasser les deux horisons." Les variantes de ce groupe composé sont fort peu de nombre—on rencontre et —et nulla part je n'ai trouvé les deux précédés de , la lecture habituelle de "l'horison," quant à cet order de textes. Cette dernierè circonstance fournit une preuve indirecte à l'appui de notre thèse. Examinons d'ailleurs quelques exemples de l'emploi du groupe !

Pepi

* *Recueil de Vieweg, IV*, page 47. La transcription *Apaou-an-sibou* ne me plâit pas non plus, pour le groupe . Celui-ci est composé de "ce qui sont devant" et "le pilier des étoiles." Mais la tête humaine ne se lit pas—à ma connaissance—*āp* avant l'entrée des basses époques. À mon avis, il faut la lire ici *tep*, et la groupe entier: *Tepāou-ān-sibou.*

"Pepi* va sur ces deux horisons du ciel" [M. MASPERO :† "Ce Pepi va pour embrasser ces deux horisons du ciel."]

⊙ ‡ "*Faire* (= passer les deux horisons du ciel par la barque de Ra [M. MASPERO :§ "Fais que la barque de Ra soit enfermée entre les deux horisons du ciel."]

Évidemmment, je rapproche du groupe fréquent , ‖ qu'on rencontre souvent pendant le nouvel Empire.

(*k*) *Tihont*, nom de déesse que M. MASPERO a relevé deux fois dans les textes de *Teta*,¶ et qui n'a pas été corrigé par lui pour les passages correspondants des autres pyramides. Nous avons évidemment à remplacer le nom nouveau par le nom ancien qui se voit dans d'autres textes de la même époque.**

(*l*) a été rendu par "entrer," et son causatif par "introduire," tandisque le vrai sens†† de ce vocable est "monter," caus. "faire monter, élever." Dans les textes des pyramides, je n'ai nulle part rencontré un final pour se mot, ni dans les variantes à déterminatifs, ni dans celles qui manquent de cette particularité graphique. Néanmoins il est certain que équivaut à , plus moderne quoique le du premier ait été passé grâce à son caractère de *liquida sonans*. Comme témoignage de cette équation, je citerai :

[*Teta*, 281] = [VON BERGMANN, *Recueil*, VI, 165.]

(PIEHL, *Ins. Hiér.*, LXXXII, 6) = [*Merenra*, 460].

(*m*) "Se poser." Ce sens, proposé par M. MASPERO pour le mot en question, n'ést guère exacte. Pour l'accepter, il

* *Pyramide de Pepi I*, ligne 392.
† *Recueil de Vieweg*, VII, page 109.
‡ *Pyramide de Pepi I*, ligne 177.
§ *Recueil de Vieweg*, V, page 188.
‖ BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, IV, page 1295.
¶ *Pyramide de Teta*, lignes 89, 90.
** *Inscription biographique* d'Ouna, ligne 40.
†† BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, I, pages 204, 205.

faudrait connaître une variante, donnant pour déterminatif un idéogramme, désignant "s'asseoir." Mais je n'en connais pas pour ma part. Mieux vaut alors admettre le sens, donné il y a longtemps par BRUGSCH,* à savoir, "planer, se soutenir les ailes immobiles." Les textes des pyramides nous font voir le mot en qualité de synonyme du verbe "voler." Un passage comme celui-ci : †

ne signifie donc pas "Ounas vole comme un oiseau, il *se pose* comme un scarabée," ‡ mais plutôt, "Ounas vole comme un oiseau, il plane comme un scarabée." Ici, peint le mouvement irrégulier et gauche le *voltigement* du scarabée, qui veut voler, sans pouvoir le faire comme un véritable oiseau.

Le déterminatif représente une scène, souvent vue par ceux qui ont visité la campagne de l'Égypte. C'est un oiseau aquatique—le grèbe je crois—qui plane dans l'air, en attendant le momeut favorable pour plonger dans le canal du Nil, d'où il va rapporter un poisson.

* * * * *

Voilà une douzaine de mots—la plupart depuis longtemps connue—pour lesquels l'éditeur des textes des pyramides a proposé des acceptions, plus ou moins inadmissibles. Mais par là, on ne peut pas dire que la liste des inexactitudes, relatives au dictionnaire Égyptien, soit vidée, comme quelques autres exemples, pris au hazard, prouvent surabondamment. Que dit-on de la traduction "pères," proposée pour le group de l'expresston suivante : §

[M. MASPERO : "tu as frappé les pères, tu as moissonné les orges"] ! Le parallelisme des membres aurait dû amener le traducteur à voir en

* *Wörterbuch*, III, page 1089.
† *Pyramide d Ounas*, ligne 477.
‡ *Recueil de Vieweg*, IV, page 56.
§ *Recueil*, V, page 41.

et deux choses analogues. Il est vrai que le mot n'est pas au dictionnaire de BRUGSCH *à l'endroit où l'on pouvait s'attendre à le rencontrer*—j'entends sous la lettre —mais si l'on consulte la page 1527 du Vol. IV, on le retrouve tout de même avec l'explication nécessaire. Est-ce peut-être la mésinterprétation au point de vue mythologique du dit passage qui a conduit notre collégue française à traduire cette phrase-ci: de la manière suivante* (" Je suis Horus, qui venge son père) j'ai frappé pour toi, *te frappant*," par quoi le jeune Horus, vengeur de son père, devient également le *châtieur* de son père !

Pourquoi traduire † par "la crainte," quand BRUGSCH nous en a fort bien appris le sens "eine besondere Entenart?" Ou par "l'Occident," quand le même lexicographe nous enseigne qu'il signifie le contraire, à savoir "l'Orient?" Ou tantôt par "colombe," tantôt par "épervier?" Cette dernière hésitation entre deux acceptions, assez divergentes, est peut-être due à BRUGSCH, qui dans son Dictionnaire (VII, page 1334) embrasse les deux sens. Évidemment celui d'*épervier* ou ne oiseau congénère est le seul admissible, comme nous le prouvent les représentations, peintes sur certains coffres funéraires et relatives à l'oiseau .

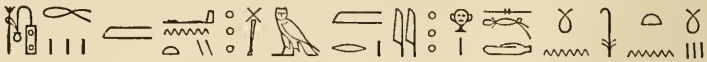
Par ces observations nous croyons avoir montré que nombre de mots, employés aux textes des pyramides, ont été mal interprêtés par l'éditeur de ces textes, surtout parce qu'il a omis de consulter les dictionnaires, déjà existants, quant à ces mots.

98. La préposition Copte ⲛⲉⲙ est du nombre des mots du l'égyptien chrétien dont on ignore l'origine. Il est vrai que nous rencontrons quelquefois des essais de la rapprocher de de la langue ancienne, mais ces essais sont si timides que nous n'avons guère de quoi nous en occuper d'une manière sérieuse.

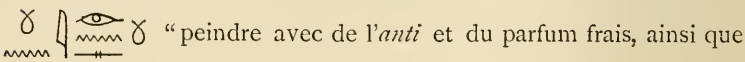
Provisoirement, je proposerai de voir en l'équivalent

* *Recueil*, XI, page 1. † *Recueil*, IV, page 58.

hiéroglyphique du Cope ⲛⲉⲙ, et en faveur de cette équation je citerai les exemples suivants :

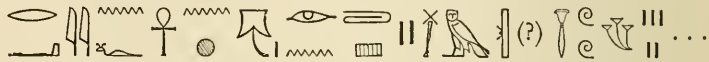


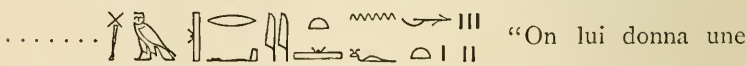
"peindre avec de l'*anti* ainsi que (= *joint à*) de la couleur *Roi* sur une pièce de linge."*



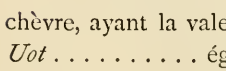
"peindre avec de l'*anti* et du parfum frais, ainsi que de la couleur *Roi*," sur un morceau d'étoffe rouge."†)

"Peindre avec de l'*anti* séché, ainsi que de *l'uot* du midi, ainsi que de l'eau du puits de l'Occident, sur une pièce d'étoffe verte."‡

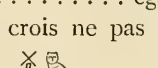
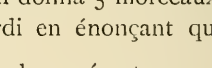




"On lui donna une chèvre, ayant la valeur de 2 unités de poids, ainsi que 5 pièces de *Uot* . . . . . également on lui donna 5 morceaux de bois."§

Je crois ne pas être trop hardi en énonçant que l'emploi de  de ces exemples présente une analogie très frappante à l'emploi qu'on fait de la préposition ⲛⲉⲙ dans la langue néoegyptienne. On a peut-être de quoi dériver la seconde

* *Todtb.*, chap. 101, ligne 5. † *Ibid.*, 164, ligne 10.

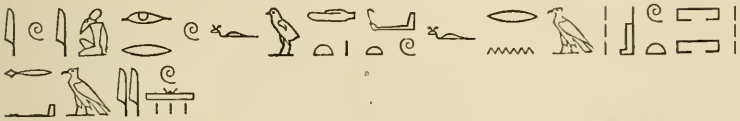
‡ *Ibid.*, 163, ligne 15. *Cfr.* à ce sujet PLEYTE, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*, page 185, où l'on trouve les raisons de la modification de la lecture  du *Todtb.*, en celle de  .

§ *Inscriptions in the hier. and dem. character*, pl. XXIV. M. W. SPIEGELBERG (*Recueil de Vieweg*, XV, p. 141) vient de donner une petite étude relative à ce texte difficile. En général, nous tombons d'accord avec les vues de ce jeune savant, quant à notre ostracon. Le seul point où nous déclinons d'accepter ses transcriptions, c'est concernant quelques uns des chiffres. Il faut en effet se souvenir, que le sigle hiératique, representant 4, quand il désigne le quantième du mois, équivaut à 5 pour d'autres annotations numériques.

de la première. J'ajoute d'ailleurs que j'ai fondé ma lecture *nem*, quant au groupe , sur les arguments qu'ont donnés les Brugsch et Le Page Renouf en faveur de la dite lecture.

Il m'est connu qu'il y a des égyptologues qui attribuent à la valuer de *uḥem*, mais je n'ai pas vu de preuves satisfaisantes établissant cette équation, et le fait, que le copte ⲟⲩⲱϩⲉⲙ quelquefois a un sens identique à celui de , ne me paraît pas définitivement resoudre le problème. Car ⲟⲩⲱϩⲉⲙ peut fort bien dériver de ⲟⲩⲉϩ, de même que p. ex. ⲉⲓⲱⲣⲉⲙ dérive de ⲓⲣⲓ.

99. Le papyrus Abbot contient (page VII, ligne 10) une expression que tout le monde paraît avoir méconnue. Voici ce qu'on y a lu :



c'est là à peu près la lecture commune de Chabas, de M. Maspero et de M. von Lemm (*Lesestücke*). La traduction de Chabas :* "Et comme il fit sa jactance pour les lieux," et celle de M. Maspero :† "Or après qu'il eût proféré des paroles par rapport aux lieux," s'accordent très bien, comme explication de notre passage. Toutefois, je ne connais aucun exemple en faveur d'une acception semblable de l'expression .

Cette expression n'est du reste pas la reproduction exacte de l'original hiératique qui plutôt renferme céci: .

En introduisant cette petite correction, nous avons pour le passage entier le sens suivant : "Il a ouvert sa bouche contre les lieux grands."

La manière dont le scribe a ici rendu le groupe , ne peut faire sujet d'étonnement, si nous regardons le mot de la même page (VII), ligne 11, car de ce dernier groupe a exactement la même forme que le qui nous occupe.

* *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, III, page 139.

† *Une enquête judicaire*, page 54.

La locution nous est bien connue d'autres textes, p. ex. "n'ouvre pas ta bouche pour proférer des jurons." *

100. En publiant son "Ägyptische Grammatik," † ouvrage qui a paru ces jours-ci, M. ERMAN de Berlin a rendu à notre science un service signalé. Quelle que soient les remarques qu'on puisse adresser à cette grammaire—et nous en avons un certain nombre—on ne peut nier qu'elle ne possède des qualités, très sérieuses, qui lui confèrent une place à part parmi les publications égyptologiques qu'ont vu apparaître les années dernières.

Ce n'est pas maintenant le moment de critiquer l'ouvrage entier de M. ERMAN, il faut du temps pour arriver à accomplir en conscience une tâche aussi ardue que celle-là. En attendant que j'aie fini les recherches, indispensables à pareille entreprise, il sera peut-être permis d'examiner certains points de détail que notre savant confrère à notre avis a traités trop à la légère.

Un tel point de détail nous est fourni par le paragraphe 372, où se lit: "Eine, in klassischer Sprache wohl veraltete, Verstärkung der Negation ist ," après quoi l'auteur donne les deux seuls exemples que voici: "wenn es nicht in eurem Besitz ist;" "nie ward Gleiches gethan."

Nous croyons que cette nouvelle règle est erronée, et cela nous semble résulter d'un examen attentif des deux exemples, sur lesquels la dite règle a été échafaudée.

La première citation se voit dans l'enchaînement de phrases suivant: ce que je crois devoir traduire de la sorte: "Vous allez m'enrichir *beaucoup* de ce que vous

* *Inscriptions in the hier. and dem. character* XVIII.—Le sens littéral de est sans doute "faire la petite bouche."

† ADOLF ERMAN, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, Berlin, 1894(!). Reuther und Reichard.

avez eu près de vous ; si vous n'en avez pas, vous allez dire par votre bouche."* Ici, est donc une expression adverbiale—plus souvent écrite —appartenant à la phrase antérieure, tandis que introduit la phrase suivante. La nouvelle règle est donc ici de trop.

Quant au second exemple de M. ERMAN, il se voit au milieu d'une expression dont le début et la fin ont été détruits, et qui par conséquent peut autoriser plusieurs acceptions. Voici la dite expression : .† Un passage de la même inscription portant ceci : , il me semble peu probable que , etc., renferme une négation *ordinaire*. Toutefois, il est possible que la phrase en question renferme une proposition négative : "Voici que rien de pareil n'a été fait par aucun grand'prêtre à aucune époque" . . . . . mais cela serait alors la conséquence d'une modification, apportée dans la signification originaire de "accomplir, terminer, FINIR." Une traduction plus littérale sonnerait peut-être de la sorte : "C'est fini que l'action de pareilles choses par tout grand'prêtre," etc. jouerait alors ici un rôle analogue à celui de la soi-disante négation , qui n'est en réalité qu'un verbe, si l'on en tient compte de l'emploi syntactique.

Tout bien considéré, on peut en toute assurance effacer la nouvelle règle, qui demanderait des preuves, bien autrement solides, pour pouvoir espérer quelque avenir dans notre science.

* GRÉBAUT, *Le musée égyptien*, pl. 18.—La manière dont certaines publications se poursuivent en égyptologie, mérite d'être signalée. Ainsi, l'éditeur du "Musée égyptien" déjà en 1891 s'est fait remettre tout le prix de la livraison Ière de ce Recueil, et maintenant (29 Décembre, 1893) on n'a vu paraître que le premier fascicule de la dite livraison et pas même celui-là au complet. À quand la suite?

† MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 390.

The next Meeting of the Society will be holden on Tuesday, 3rd December, 1895, at 8 p.m., by kind permission of the Council of the Royal Institute of British Architects, in their Lecture Room, at

9, CONDUIT STREET, HANOVER SQUARE, W.

Mr. Grey Hill will read a paper on "A Journey East of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, 1895."

A large number of Photographic Lantern Slides, taken on the spot, will be shown in illustration of the journey.

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[Shalmaneser II, B.C. 859–825.]

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Society of Biblical Archæology.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XVII. TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION.

Seventh Meeting, December 3rd, 1895.

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1895.

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37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1895-96.

Seventh Meeting, 3rd December, 1895.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President,

IN THE CHAIR.

I very much regret that, owing to my having been misinformed, though the authority appeared to be sufficiently reliable, the decease of Professor Eberhard Schrader was announced in the November *Proceedings*. I am happy to be able to state that Professor Schrader is now rapidly recovering from his recent illness.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Rev. James Marshall.—Œuvres choisies de A. J. Letronne, Membre de l'Institut, assemblées, mises en ordre et augmentées d'un index par E. Fagnan. Deuxième série, géographie et Cosmographie. 2 vols. Paris. 8vo. 1883.

From the Author:—Michael Petrovo-Solovovo. A short sketch of the History of the relations between Assyro-Babylonia and the Hebrews. (In Russian.) St. Petersburg. 8vo. 1895.

From the Author:—Rev. Alan Spencer Hawkesworth. On the identity of Hebrew and Aryan Roots. Fol. 1895.

From the Author:—Rev. James Johnstone. The Bible demolishes the Criticism of the Higher Critics. Edinburgh. 8vo. 1895. Appendix B. 1895.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 5th November, 1895, and were elected Members of the Society:—

Mrs. George Bennett, 4, Hampton Grove, Surbiton, Surrey.
Sam. Bergheim, 41, Norfolk Square, W.
Alfred Charles Bryant, 5, Dagmar Terrace, Alexandra Park, Wood Green.
James Johnstone, 8, Merchiston Park, Edinburgh.
J. R. Mayfield, Eastbourne.
H. J. Innes Whitehouse, 107, Farleigh Road, Stoke Newington, N.
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The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held the 14th January 1896:—

W. H. Brown, B.A., London, 21, Cambridge Street, Eccleston Square.
John Stanton, Chorley, Lancashire.
Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Queens' College, Cambridge.
James Wheeler, Chardmore Road, Upper Clapton.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Libraries (Basil Anderton, B.A., Chief Librarian).

The following Paper was read by Mr. Gray Hill, Author of "With the Bedouins."

A JOURNEY EAST OF THE JORDAN AND THE DEAD SEA, 1895.

This Paper was illustrated by a large number of lantern slides, photographed on the spot. Many of the places of which views were exhibited have never been photographed before.

The following is a list of some of the places visited during the journey:—

A fourth Attempt to reach Petra. Jerusalem to Yadiueh. The Beni Sakhr Beduins. Stormy weather. Ruins of Yadiudeh. Sheik Arar of Petra. A Thief. Ruins of Umm Moghr. Sheik Hazah and his relatives. A seeming reconciliation. We start for the Ruined Castle of Khauranee; an Alarm and a Hurried Retreat. Return to Umm Mogr. We try again. A strange Night in the Castle. Arrest of the Herald. No Water. The Aenezeh are coming; we retreat again. Hazah's Camp. Ruins of Umm Shettah. We steer for Kerak. The Waters of Dimon. The Christian Boy. New Way of Fishing. The Gorge of the Arnon. The Keraki. "This is your Last Night." A Shower

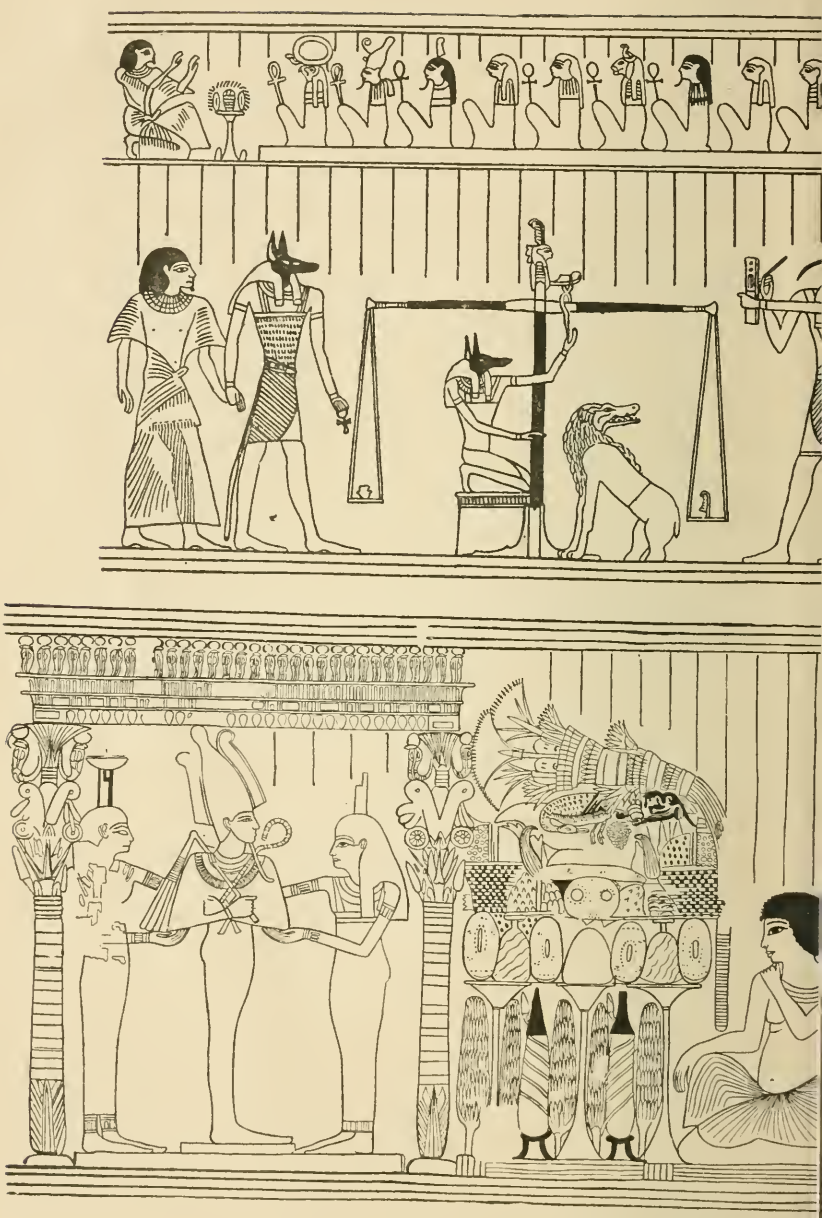
of Bullets. Intervention of an Uncle. We appeal for Justice and Permission to visit Petra. Descent to the Dead Sea. The Ghor es Safiyeh. The Robber's Gully. Mr. Forder's experience. A Long Day. The Pass of Ain Jidy. Home again.

Remarks were added by Messrs. Walter Morrison, *Vice-President*, W. G. Thorpe, P. R. Reed, Rev. R. Gwynne, Rev. Dr. Löwy, Mr. Charles Hamilton, and Mr. Gray Hill.

Thanks were returned to Mr. Hill for this communication.

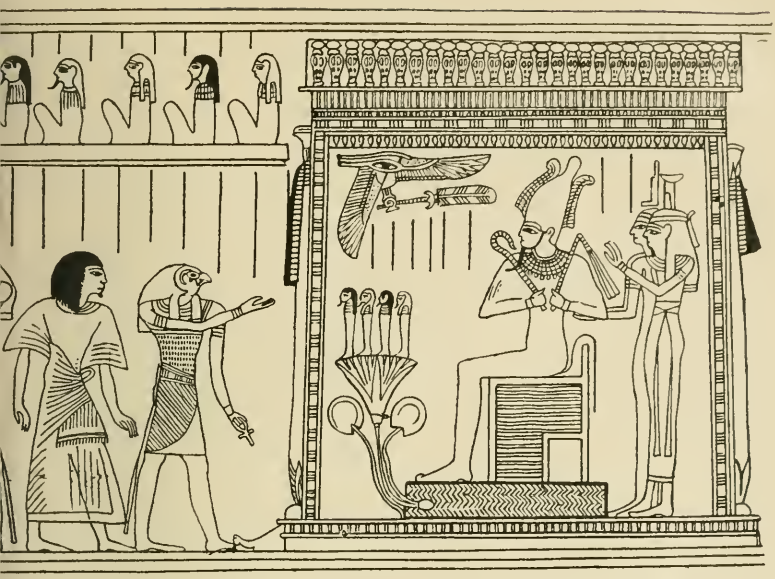
A vote of thanks to the President and Council of the Royal Institute of British Architects, for kindly allowing the Society the use of their lecture room, was proposed by Mr. Thomas Christy, seconded by Mr. F. Pollard, and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Palestine Exploration Fund for allowing the use of a copy of their large raised map of Palestine, was proposed by the Rev. Dr. Löwy, seconded by Mr. Gray Hill, and carried unanimously.



CHAPTER CXXV. Papyrus Brit. Mus

THE DEAD.



No. 9,901, and Papyrus Leyden, No. II.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

P. le Page Renouf.

CHAPTER CXXV.

Part III.

[Said upon approaching to the gods who are in the Tuat. (31)]

Hail ye gods, I know you and I know your names; let me not be stricken down by your blows: report not the evil which is in me to the god whom ye follow. Let not reverse (32) of mine come to pass through you.

Let not evil things be said against me in presence of the Inviolate One; because I have done the right in Tamerit.

I revile not the god: let not reverse of mine come to pass through the King who resideth within His own Day. (33)

Hail ye gods who are in the Hall of Righteousness, who have nothing wrong about you; who subsist upon Righteousness in Annu, and who sate themselves with cares, (34) in presence of the god who resideth within his own Orb: deliver me from Babai who feedeth upon the livers of princes on the Day of the Great Reckoning.

Behold me: I am come to you, void of wrong, without fraud, a harmless one: let me not be declared guilty; let not the issue be against me.

I subsist upon Righteousness: I sate myself with uprightness of heart: I have done that which man prescribeth and that which pleaseth the gods.

I have propitiated the god with that which he loveth. I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, a boat to the shipwrecked. I have made oblations to the gods and funeral offerings to the departed: deliver me therefore: protect me therefore: and report not against me in presence of the great god.

I am one whose mouth is pure, and whose hands are pure, to whom there is said "Come, come in peace," by those who look upon him.

For I have listened to the words which were spoken by the Ass and the Cat in the house of Hept-ro. (35)

And I have undergone the inspection of the god Whose face is behind him, who awardeth my verdict (36), so that I may behold what the Persea tree covereth (37) in Restau.

I am one who glorifieth the gods and who knoweth the things which concern them.

I am come and am awaiting that inquisition be made of Rightfulness and that the Balance be set upon its stand within the bower of amaranth. (38)

O thou who art exalted upon thy pedestal and who callest thy name, Lord of Air: deliver me from those messengers of thine who inflict disasters (39) and bring about mishaps. No covering have they upon their faces.

For I have done the Righteousness of a Lord of Righteousness.

I have made myself pure: my front parts are washed, my back parts are pure, and my inwards steeped in the Tank of Righteousness. There is not a limb in me which is void of Righteousness.

I purify me in the Southern Tank, and I rest me at the northern lake, in the Garden of Grasshoppers. (40)

The Boatmen of Rā purify them there at this hour of the night or day (41) and the hearts of the gods are appeased (42) when I pass through it by night or by day.

Let him come (43): that is what they say to me.

Who, pray, art thou? that is what they say to me.

What, pray, is thy name? that is what they say to me.

"He who groweth under the Grass (44) and who dwelleth in the Olive tree" is my name.

Pass on, then: that is what they say to me.

I pass on to a place north of the Olive.

What, prithee, didst thou see there?

A thigh (45) and a leg.

And what, prithee, said they to thee?

That I shall see (46) the greetings in the lands there of the Fenchu:

What, prithee, did they give to thee?

A flame of fire and a pillar of crystal.

And what, prithee, didst thou to them?

I buried them on the bank of the Lake of Māāit as Provision of the Evening.

What, prithee, didst thou find there on the bank of the Lake of Māāit?

A sceptre of flint: 'Giver of Breath' is its name.

And what didst thou to the flame of fire and to the pillar of crystal after thou hadst buried them?

I cried out after them and drew them forth: and I extinguished the fire, and I broke the pillar, and I made a Tank.

Thou mayest now enter through the door of the hall of Righteousness, for thou knowest us.

I allow thee not to pass by me, saith the Leaf (47) of the Door, unless thou tell my name:

"The Pointer of Truth" (48) is thy name.

I allow thee not to pass by me, saith the right side post (49) of the Door, unless thou tell my name.

"The Scale-pan (50) of one who lifteth up Right" is thy name.

I allow thee not to pass by me, saith the left side post of the Door, unless thou tell my name:

"The Scale-pan of Wine" is thy name.

I allow thee not to pass over me, saith the Threshold of the Door, unless thou tell my name:

"Ox of Seb" is thy name.

I open not to thee, saith the Lock of the Door, unless thou tell my name:

Bone of An-maut-ef is thy name.

I open not to thee, saith the Latch, unless thou tell my name:

"The Eye of Sebak, Lord of Bachan," is thy name.

I open not to thee, and I allow thee not to pass by me, saith the Keeper of the Door, unless thou tell my name:

"The Knee of Shu, which he hath lent for the support of Osiris," is thy name.

We allow thee not to pass by us, say the Lintels of the Door, unless thou tell our names:

"The dragon brood (51) of Renenut" is your name.

Thou knowest us: pass therefore by us.

I allow thee not to pass over me, saith the Floor of the Hall, for the reason that I am noiseless and clean, and because we know not the names of thy two feet, wherwith thou wouldst walk upon us. Tell me, then, their names.

"He who goeth before Amsu" is the name of my right foot: and "The Truncheon of Hathor" (52) is the name of my left foot.

Thou mayest walk over us: for thou knowest us.

I do not announce thee, saith the Doorkeeper, unless thou tell my name:

"He who knoweth the heart and exploreth the person" (53) is thy name.

Then I will announce thee.

But who is that god who abideth in his own hour? Name him.

He who provideth for (54) the Two Worlds).

Who, pray, is it? It is Thoth.

Come hither, saith Thoth, wherefore hast thou come?

I am come, and wait to be announced.

And what manner of man, prithee, art thou?

I have cleansed myself from all the sins and faults of those who abide in their own day; for I am no longer among them.

Then I shall announce thee.

But who is he whose roof is of fire, and whose walls are living Uræi, and the floor of whose house is of running water? Who is it?

It is Osiris.

Proceed then: for behold, thou art announced.

Thy bread is from the Eye, thy beer is from the Eye, and the funeral meals offered upon earth will come forth to thee from the Eye (55). So is it decreed for me.

This chapter is said by the person, when purified and clad in raiment; shod with white sandals; anointed from vases of ānta;

and prcsenting oblations of beeves, birds, incense, bread, beer and vegetables.

And thou shalt make a picture, drawn upon a clean brick of clay, extracted from a field in which no swine hath trod.

And if this chapter be written upon it—the man will prosper and his children will prosper: he will rise in the affection of the king and his court: there will be given to him the shesit *cake, the measure of drink, the* persen *cake and the meat offering upon the altar table of the great god; and he shall not be cut off at any gate of Amenta, but he shall be conveyed along with the Kings of North and South, and make his appearance as a follower of Osiris: undeviatingly and for times infinite.*

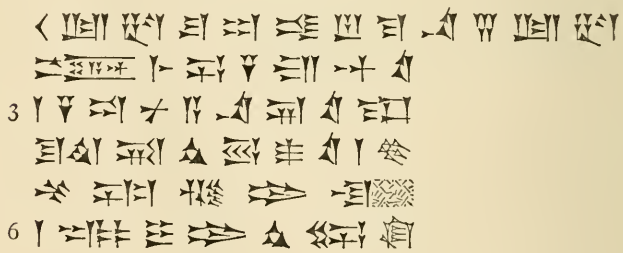
WATER RATE IN ANCIENT BABYLONIA.

By Theo. G. Pinches.

The above is probably a title which few would expect to find as the heading of an article referring to ancient Babylonia, summoning up, as it does, pictures of water companies, collectors, first, second, and final notices, etc., followed by threats to "discontinue the supply," to say nothing of the unspeakable plumber. The water company, however, was none other than the great temple of the Sun at Sippara, and as it is to be conjectured that the supply was laid on by means of the usual water channels, similar, in all likelihood, to those used for irrigation purposes, cutting off the water was probably not altogether a simple matter.* Demand notes, also, were hardly needed, for the temples had naturally ways of their own to ensure prompt payments.

Text.

82-9-18, 3812.



Transcription.

Ešrit šiḳli kaspi ba-ab-tu^{m} parap ma-na ḫamšit šiḳli kaspi
šîmi me-e ša âl D.P. Šamaš
3. Ša-du-nu a-na E-par-ra†

* This remark, would not, of course, apply, if the water was supplied by means of carriers.

† Or Ê-babar-ra.

it-ta-din. Âraḫ Šabaṭu umu eštin
šatti rêš šarrūti*
6. Nabû-na'id šar Bâbîli [D.S.]

TRANSLATION.

10 *shekels of silver, balance (of)* $\frac{5}{6}$ *of a mana (and)* 5 *shekels* †
of silver
price of the water of the City of the Sun
3. *Šadunu to Ê-para*‡
has paid. Month Sebat, day 1*st* (?),
accession-year of
6. *Nabonidus, king of Babylon.*

The translation of "balance" (of a sum of money) for *babtu*^{m} is that indicated by other texts referring to money, etc., and is undoubtedly correct (*see* Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 166). The word for "price" is indicated by the common ideograph, , *šîmu*. The word for "water" is the usual one, *mê*, here phonetically spelled *me-e*, seemingly the plural of *mû*.

Apparently the water was paid for by the municipality, for the sum paid by Šadunu was not for the water supplied to an individual, but for that supplied to the "City of the Sun" (, the name either of the whole or of a part of Sippara). Šadunu was therefore in all probability one of those employed by the municipality.

The above is one of the numerous tablets found by Mr. Rassam at Abu-habbah.

* Or, if read in Akkadian : *Mu-saga-namlugalla.*
† Or, as we should say, "balance of 55 shekels of silver."
‡ Or Ê-babara.

EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

WARNINGS.

By Prof. Dr. Aug. Eisenlohr, Heidelberg.

The last but one number of the *Zeitschrift für Aegypt. Sprache und Alterthums Kunde* (Bd. XXXII, Zweites Heft, S. 99 ff.) contains an article from Dr. Eduard Mahler of Vienna, "Materialien zur Chronologie der alten Aegypter (Chronologische Bestimmung der Regierungszeit der Ramessiden)," wherein the author claims to have fixed chronologically (festgelegt, *l.c.*, S. 105) by calculatory deduction the dates from Amosis to Ramses VI (1575–1198 B.C.). Although in a paper read at the Oriental Congress at Geneva, entitled: "Die Festlegung historischer Daten durch die Hülfe der Astronomie," I have, while gratefully acknowledging the help of astronomers as Biot, Ideler, Oppolzer, Wisclicenus, and also of Dr. Mahler to fix chronological dates, expressively cautioned against the use of uncertain bases to build chronological reckonings upon, and especially refuted the consequences drawn by Dr. Mahler from some dates for the reign of Tutmes III, and Ramses II, in the *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, XXVII, 2, p. 97 ff, and XXVIII, 1, p. 32 ff., still some time will elapse before the proceedings of the Geneva Congress are printed. To prevent people from being misled by statements they are unable to verify, as, for example, I already see Dr. Mahler's deductions have been accepted by Prof. Ebers (*Beilage zur Allg. Zeitung*, 1891, No. 89), I may be allowed to give a short extract of what I explained more in detail in my Geneva paper. The time of Tutmes III is based by Dr. Mahler (*Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1889, S. 103) on the commemoration of two new moons in two consecutive years, the 23rd and 24th of this king, the first mentioned in the Karnak inscription (*Denkm.*, III, Pl. 32, 13) on the 21 Pachons of the 23rd year, the second (Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 12, 7) on the 30 Mechir of the 24th year of Tutmes III. The first of these two dates is in the text brought into connexion with the day of the king's accession to the throne, which is reported as the 4th of the month of Pachons. The king's death is known from the inscription in the tomb of Amenemheb (found and published by

Ebers, *Deutsch Morgl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. XXX, p. 391 ff.), as having happened on the last of the Phamenoth in the 54th year of his reign. Dr. Mahler, understanding all these dates in the fixed year (beginning with the heliac rising of the Dog Star on the 20th July) finds on the 5th April (= 21 Pachons), 1481 B.C., and on the 15th January (= 30 Mechir), 1479, B.C., the mentioned new moons in two consecutive years of Tutmes III, who therefore would ascend the throne 20th May, 1503 B.C., and die the 14th February, 1449 B.C.

As I am (contrary to Dr. Mahler's supposition) convinced that dates of historical events, and such we have undoubtedly in the annals of Tutmes III, as in the biography of Amenemheb, cannot be understood otherwise than in the vague year, I could not accept these two days of new moons, on which he bases his chronology. When I communicated this to the author, he answered me by letter, that understanding the given dates of 21 Pachons and 30 Mechir of the vague year, we should find in the list of new moons for the 16th May, 1482 B.C., and the 24th February, 1480 B.C., likewise two corresponding new moons, which afford for the beginning of Tutmes III's reign, 1504 B.C., instead of 1503, so that Tutmes III began his reign after the vague year 4 Pachons = 4th May jul. 1504, and died the 30th Phamenoth = 18th May, 1450 B.C.

While in this manner, with the necessary correction for the days of the fixed year with those of the vague year, I came to a similar result for the time of Tutmes III, fully acknowledging the value of Dr. Mahler's new method of making use of the tablets of new moons for chronology, I cannot accept in the same way the other results of his paper. We are prohibited from drawing any chronological conclusions from the Smith Calendar so long as the royal cartouche therein cannot be explained. That it cannot be that of Amenophis I, because the last sign is surely not *ka* (see *Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, p. 598; Prof. Erman in *Westcar*, p. 56, has proved nothing to the contrary; the sign [Sīneha 203] is quite differently written from the last sign in the royal cartouche), I ought not to have to repeat. So every conclusion drawn from that cartouche is more than arbitrary.

We come now to the weakest part of Dr. Mahler's explanation, his fixing the time of Ramses II. First he asserts that the representation on the ceiling of the Ramesseum (Leps., *Denkm.*, III, 170, 171; Brugsch, *Monuments*, Pl. V, VI) reports the beginning of a Sothic period, which was celebrated in the 30th year of

Ramses II. Now we know for certain from the hall at Silsile, that a festival was celebrated in the 30th year of the reign of Ramses II, the so-called Triakonteride (hierogl. *seṭ ḥeb*, Brugsch, *Thes.*, p. 209) of the Rosetta Stone (Greek text, l. 2), a jubilee, repeated afterwards every 3 or 4 years (*cf.* Brugsch, *Thes.*, p. 1119 ff.; Erman, *Aeg. Zeitsch.*, XXIX, 1891, p. 128, where the eighth jubilee of Rameses II is commemorated). Dr. Mahler confuses this festival with the beginning of a Sothic period and finds in the words *ānep* an indication of the 20th day of the month (*cf.* Brugsch, *Thes.*, p. 47, 115). As the heliacal rising of the Sirius star happened at the 20th July jul. and this is the *ānep*, the 20th day of the moon, the 1st July of the year 1318 B.C. (after Oppolzer the beginning of a new Sothiac period) must have been a new moon, which really was the case. Now firstly it is not correct that the *seṭ ḥeb* festival of the 30th year of Ramses II was a commemoration of the Sothic period; secondly, the signs *ānep*, on the Ramesseum ceiling, are not to be found in the month of Thoth and near the goddess Isis Sopt, where they ought to be if they had relation to the Sirius star, but in the month of Tybi. So every conclusion fixing the reign of Ramses II from the Triakonteride and the *ānep* day on the Ramessum ceiling must be given up.

Dr. Mahler, on the contrary, finds a confirmation of his dates for Ramses II in the Leyden hieratic Papyrus I, 350, *verso* (dated of the 52nd year of that king), col. iii., line 6, where he reads: "Monat Mechir Tag 16 in der Stadt Rameses II, Tag der Neumondfeier." First, the day cannot be the 16th of the month Mechir, but must be the 26th, because in that journal, on the foregoing column ii, 19, the events of the 23rd Mechir are treated, as Prof. Lauth has already shown (Moses der Ebräer, p. 9), and after our date (iii, 24) the events of the 28th of the same month are related. Besides that, III, 6, the hieratic signs at the end of the line contain nothing of a new moon but only *ra en ḥeb*, festive day, so that all conclusions of Dr. Mahler for his erroneously read date are futile.

The same false conclusions are made by Dr. Mahler for the day of Ramses III's accession to the throne. He asserts that this day, the 26th of the month Pachons, belonged to the fixed Sirius year, and that for the first time in the 22nd year of King Ramses III the 26 Pachons was contemporary with the 26th day of the

month. But reference to this is made in the great Pap. Harris, Pl. 17a, but only that from the 22nd to the 32nd year a festival of 20 days was added to the festivals of Amon at Thebes, which began the 26th of the month Pachons. There is no mention of a coincidence of a new moon with the 1 Pachons, but the date is taken of the vague year, which had a month of 30 days, which were independent of the real new moons. So it seems that the chronological dates, which Dr. Mahler draws from the inscriptions by help of the new moons, are in no way credible. We must demand first the unquestionable reading of texts, before we can permit the erection of a building on them: when the foundation is of sand instead of stone, the building will soon collapse, as we see is the case here.

EUPHRATEAN STELLAR RESEARCHES.

By Robert Brown, Junr., F.S.A.

Part V.—*The Archaic Lunar Zodiac.*

I.

In a former Paper (*Remarks on the Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, Jan.—Feb., 1890) I showed that a lunar zodiac, *i.e.*, the mapping out of a number of asterisms or single stars in or near the ecliptic, as a means of observing the monthly course of the moon, existed in the Euphrates Valley at a very early period. Such a scheme would doubtless be recorded in numbers of tablets, although, so far as I am aware, we only possess the one (*W.A.I.*, V, xlvi, No. 1) which I have endeavoured to explain; nor is it improbable that the scheme may have somewhat varied in detail in different localities. The next step in this research, is to endeavour to show the connexion between the original Euphratean Lunar Zodiac and the various ancient lunar zodiacs which have come down to us. Of these we possess at least seven complete specimens—the Persian, Sogdian, Khorasmian, Chinese, Indian, Arab, and Coptic schemes. It has often been observed that any one nation might as easily have mapped out a lunar zodiac as any other, since all see the same moon and stars; scientific research, however, is not concerned with that which, in the abstract, is possible, but with what has actually taken place. We now know that the Euphratean Solar Zodiac has been borrowed by nation after nation. They have so acted because it is easier and simpler to borrow than to work; and the more we investigate the records of the past, the smaller the sphere of originality and invention is found to be. Therefore, so far as general probability is concerned, it is more likely than not that Babylonia, which has supplied the world with so much, has, amongst other things, furnished it with the original scheme of a lunar zodiac.

This view of the matter has already suggested itself to several very eminent students of ancient lunar zodiacs; although, in the absence of evidence, they could not advance the theory to any point beyond that of the most probable hypothesis. Thus, Prof. Weber, when speaking of the schemes of India and China, and writing prior to 1878, says: "To me the most probable view is that these lunar mansions are of Chaldaean origin, and that from the Chaldaeans they passed to the Hindus as well as to the Chinese" (*Hist. of Indian Literature*, Eng. edit., 1878, p. 248). Prof. Whitney agrees, remarking that, so far as the Hindus are concerned, his 'suspicion' as to the Babylonian origin of the lunar zodiac "rises to the dignity of a persuasion" (*Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, 2nd series, 1893, p. 418). Prof. Max Müller writes, "The twenty-seven Nakshatras, or the twenty-seven constellations, which were chosen in India as a kind of lunar Zodiac, were supposed to have come from Babylon. Now the Babylonian Zodiac was solar, and, in spite of repeated researches, no trace of a lunar Zodiac has been found, where so many things have been found, in the cuneiform inscriptions" (*India, What can it teach us?* 1883, pp. 126–7). But, since 1883 a lunar zodiac has been found in the cuneiform inscriptions; and therefore the *argumentum è taciturnitate*, unsatisfactory at all times, vanishes. Prof. Müller elsewhere makes the important statement, "Lunar chronology seems everywhere to have preceded solar chronology" (*Rig-Veda-Samhitâ*, Vol. IV, 1892, Preface, p. 67). He also further observes, "In spite of all, however, I am quite prepared to take into serious consideration the Babylonian origin of Indian, nay, even of Chinese astronomy, whenever the decipherers of the cuneiform inscriptions shall have supplied us with evidence that deserves to be considered. No hypothesis, however repugnant to received notions, should on that ground be treated with contempt" (*Ibid.*, p. 69). With respect to the Persian and Coptic lunar mansions, he says, "The passage in the Bundehesh in which the 28 divisions occur, is no more pertinent to the establishment of the Babylonian theory than the list of Coptic names, neither of them going back beyond the time of Mohammed." That both these sets of names do go back centuries prior to the era of Mohammed, will fully appear in the course of this Paper; and Prof. Max Müller quite admits that, long ere the days of the Prophet, the Arabs were familiar with a series of lunar mansions (vide *Qurân*, x, 5; xxxvi, 39).

The famous dispute, in which Biot, Weber, and various other savants took part, as to whether China obtained the lunar asterisms from India, or India from China, is now merely matter of history; since it is almost universally admitted that each country received the mansions from a source external to either. The Arab, Chinese, and Indian stations have long been familiar to us; and one result of an examination of them is thus expressed by Prof. Whitney, "No one, I am confident, can examine this [*i.e.*, his] exposition of the correspondences and differences of the three systems, without being convinced that they are actually . . . three derivative forms of the same original" (*Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, 2nd series, p. 356). The archaic connexion between China and Babylonia has of late been illustrated with very great acumen and learning by my lamented friend Terrien de Lacouperie, who, knowing that I was engaged upon the study of the lunar zodiac, shortly before his death sent me a corrected list of the Chinese *Siuh* (Lunar Mansions). His views and researches, which have received the support of several scholars of great eminence, are summed up in his *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization*, 1894, and are further supported by the very interesting and important studies of the Rev. C. J. Ball (*The New Accadian*), in the *Proceedings* of this Society, in illustration of the family connexion between the Sumero-Akkadian and Chinese languages; whilst, on the other hand, the extravagant claims to an existence of many thousand years, put forward on behalf of Chinese astronomy (vide Schlegel, *Uranographie Chinoise*), prove as unsupported by facts as they are contrary to probability. In a Paper entitled *Early Asterisms* (*Nature*, Dec. 28, 1893) Prof. Norman Lockyer has given lists of the Indian, Chinese, and Arab mansions, with explanations of their names by Profs. Max Müller, Robertson Smith, and Douglas; and observes in conclusion, "Although their dates are uncertain, they are undoubtedly built upon a common model, they have identical functions, and they have to do with the ecliptic, that is to say, we are in each case in presence of a belt of stars to which the motions of any other heavenly body travelling round the sun, like the planets, or round the earth, like the moon, can be readily referred." Mr. T. W. Kingsmill has treated of this subject in an important article, full of learning and suggestive-(*Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, Dec., 1892), ness, entitled *A Comparative Table of the Lunar Asterisms* and, although I differ with him both in detail and in general

conclusion, I acknowledge with pleasure the value of his researches. He deals only with the Arab, Indian, and Chinese asterisms, and his conclusion respecting their origin is that "We may reject as frivolous the strife between authors as to their birthplace, and accept them as in the widest sense of the term Asiatic, and date back their origin to the prehistoric tribes of Central Asia before the great dispersal of the Aryans" (p. 45). Mr. James Burgess, in his *Notes on Hindu Astronomy and the Hist. of our Knowledge of it* (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, Oct., 1893) has given a most useful and learned compendium of the subject so far as India is concerned; and, on the general question of the Lunar Zodiac, the student will find much of interest in the writings of Mr. J. F. Hewitt (*Notes on the Early Hist. of Northern India*, Parts i–vi, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.; The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, 1894).

The list of Persian mansions is contained in the famous Pahlevi work the *Bundahis* ("Original Creation"), respecting which Mr. E. W. West writes, "As the work now stands it is evidently of a fragmentary character, bearing unmistakable marks both of omissions and dislocations . . . Many passages have the appearance of being translations from an Avesta original, and it is very probable that we have in the Bundahi*s* either a translation, or an epitome, of the Dâmdâ*d* Nask, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius. This may be guessed from a comparison of the contents of the Bundahi*s* with those of the Dâmdâ*d* Nask, which are detailed in the Dînî-vagarkar*d*" (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V, p. xxiv). The names, therefore, of these "fragments of the calculators," as they are styled, go back to a remote antiquity. They are written in Pâzand ('Re-explanation'), *i.e.*, "a further interpretation of the Pahlavi Zand in the Persian vernacular"; and what have to be discovered, if possible, are their original Avestic forms. Thus, No. 14 *Çpur* = the Avestic *Çparegha;* No. 25 *Kahtsar* = the Avestic *Çatavaêça.* Their Pazand forms thus represent, in a corrupt and abbreviated fashion, archaic originals; and the transformation of the original names is the necessary result of a linguistic process occupying many centuries. The names are given in Cap. ii. of the *Bundahis*, which treats of "the formation of the luminaries," and they occur immediately after the names of the twelve signs of the Solar Zodiac, which were admittedly obtained by Persia from Babylonia.

The Sogdian and Khorasmian schemes of lunar mansions have been preserved by Albîrûnî, who wrote cir. A.D. 1000, in his *Vestiges of the Past* (Eng. edit. by Dr. C. E. Sachau, 1879, pp. 227–8). So far as I am aware, they have never yet been given in English. In the *Vendîdâd* (Fargard i) Sughdha (Old Per. Suguda, Gk. Σογδιανή, Mod. Samarkand) is described as "the second of the good lands and countries which Ahuza Mazda created." Khorasmia, the land of the Khwârizmians, adjoins it; and these two lists of lunar mansions, which thus represent a Central Asian scheme, though presenting various differences, still, upon the whole, as might be expected, closely agree. Albîrûnî says of the Khwârizmians, "They were in the habit of using the stations of the moon and deriving from them the rules of astrology. The names of the stations in their language they have preserved," but the old race of lunar astrologers had then died out. "In the Khwârismî dialect an astronomer is called *Akhtar-wênîk*, i.e. *looking to the lunar stations* . . . They used to distribute these stations over the twelve signs of the Zodiac, for which they also had special names in their language. They knew them [the signs of the Zodiac] even better than the Arabs, as you may learn by the fact that their nomenclature of them agrees with the names given to them by the original designer of these figures"—unfortunately Albîrûnî does not mention his theory respecting this important person—"whilst the names of the Arabs do not agree." As an instance of Arab blundering he says, that the Arabs "count Aljauzâ among the number of the Zodiacal signs instead of Gemini, whilst Aljauzâ is the figure Orion. The people of Khwârizm call this sign [Gemini] *Adhûpać karîk*, i.e. *having two figures*, which means the same as Gemini" (*Vestiges*, p. 226). The colonization of Khorasmia is said to have taken place "980 years before Alexander" (Vide Lacouperie, *Western Origin*, p. 350); and there are many indications of the wide extent and comparatively high degree of civilization in Central Asia in early times.

The names of the Coptic lunar mansions are given by Weber, *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den naxatra*, Erster Theil, Berlin, 1860, p. 330, from Rossi, *Etymologiae Aegyptiacae*, Rome, 1808. They are nearly all from the ancient Egyptian or the Greek, but two or three are probably Arabic. Our President, who has encouraged me in the investigation of this very difficult subject, has also kindly furnished me with an explanation of the meanings of Nos. 7, 10 and 20, but for the rest I am responsible. He has, moreover, sent me

a list of Notes taken by him from Edward's *Manuscript Dict.* in the Bodleian, and which have been of much service to me. I am not aware that these Coptic names have yet appeared in English.

It must be remembered that the solar zodiac was, if I may so express it, placed upon the lunar zodiac, and covered the same space in uranography. Hence the reappearance in the derived lunar schemes, of names drawn from the original solar scheme. Mr. Kingsmill suggestively observes, "Notwithstanding the wide extension of the lunar mansions, which at one time must have been popularly received from China on the one hand to Greece on the other, the system cannot have prevailed for many centuries" (*A Comparative Table*, p. 78). "If however the completion of the series of lunar stations, and the astronomy to which they gave rise, cannot be dated before 2350 B.C., we find that the system cannot have had more than two centuries of unchallenged existence. Evidence . . . goes to prove that when the astronomers of Chaldea adopted the solar signs, and marked the beginning of the year by the solar culmination of the constellations, the Pleiades still occupied the place of honour, marking a date not later than 2150 B.C." (*Ibid.*, p. 79). Whatever may have been the case in other countries, in the Euphrates Valley the lunar scheme had probably, either solely or jointly with the solar scheme, a reign of many centuries.

As regards our oldest known lunar zodiac, the *Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, further study of this singularly difficult text, especially in connexion with the various other lunar schemes, has occasioned me to adopt some alterations in details, but has strengthened the general conclusions arrived at in my former Paper, which should be referred to in connexion with the present Article. Thus, I am unable to agree with Prof. Hommel (*Die Astronomie der alten Chaldäer*, iii, 4) that the list begins with the *Pleiades*, and that lines 12–26 form an Excursus relating to the Pole-star, *Pegasus*, *Deneb* (*α Cygni*), *Cassiopeia*, etc. The testimony of Diodôros, combined with *W.A.I.*, IV, xv (vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, pp. 137–8), makes such a view impossible; nor can I find any real support for it in the Tablet itself, whilst my friend the late Geo. Bertin was equally clear that all the stars referred to were in or near the ecliptic. Again, as regards the point of commencement, it is true that the *Pleiades* are in the Sign which technically was called *Te* ("The Foundation," vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 250) or *Te-te* (= *Pleiades* + *Hyades*). But of what were the Pleiads and Hyads

the 'foundation.?' Of the solar year, not of the lunar month or year. So, when the Indian lunar mansions are adjusted to a solar scheme beginning with *Taurus*, *Kṛittikâ* (= the *Pleiades*) becomes the first mansion. And when the Persian lunar mansions are adjusted to a solar scheme beginning with *Aries*, *Padêvar* (= β, γ *Arietis*) becomes the first mansion. Both could not originally have been the first mansion, and, in fact, neither was. Prof. Hommel's error, in my opinion, consists in treating the lunar, as if it were a solar scheme. Thus, as I have observed, "the *Great Twins* of the solar zodiac are *Castor* and *Pollux*" (*Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, p. 185); and, at first sight, Prof. Hommel's explanation of the six leading asterisms of the "Thirty Stars" seems absolutely conclusive, *i.e.*, "The Foundation" (= *Pleiades*), "the Jackal" (= *Aldebaran*), *Gam* (= β and ζ *Tauri*), "the Great Twins" (= *Castor* and *Pollux*), "the Little Twins" (= *Asellus bor. et aust.* in *Cancer*), and "the King" (= *Regulus*). But, unfortunately for this view, we are informed in line 49, that the *Ram* is "the uppermost part of *Gam*" (vide *Proceedings*, Feb., 1890, p. 184); and thus *Gam* cannot be β and ζ *Tauri*, nor can it come after the *Pleiades* and *Aldebaran*, and so the chain is at once and fatally broken. It appears, also, from tablets of the Greek period (vide R. B., Jr., in the *Academy*, Nov., 10, 1894), that β *Tauri* was "the northern light of the *Chariot*," and ζ *Tauri* "the southern light of the *Chariot*, *i.e.*, *Auriga*, not the *Wain*, in Ak. *Gar*, As. *Narkabtu*, or *Rukubu*, Heb. *Rekhev*. This constellation (𒀭 𒀭) is distinguished in *W.A.I.*, III, lvii, No. 9, l. 70 from *Gam*, which is named next to it (l. 71). This important piece of information respecting *Gam* and the *Ram*, moreover, implies that the scribe was well acquainted with two sets of figures, solar and lunar; the *Ram* was a solar, *Gam* a lunar asterism.

Such, then, in brief, is the present position of the question, and the most important recent literature connected with the enquiry respecting the origin of the archaic lunar zodiac. In an investigation so extremely difficult my conclusions must, almost of necessity, be incorrect in some points of detail; but, as a whole, I submit them with confidence to the judgment of the learned student, in the hope that, at the least, they may aid in the solution of one of the most famous and fascinating questions connected with the history of early astronomy.

II.

In the following list, Ak. = Sumero-Akkadian, Bab. = Babylonian, As. = Assyrian, Eg. = Ancient Egyptian, Per. = Persian, Sog. = Sogdian, Kho. = Khorasmian, Chi. = Chinese, Ind. = Indian, Ar. = Arab, Cop. = Coptic, Av. = Avestic (often improperly called 'Zend,' which latter term meaning 'commentary' or 'explanation,' applies only to interpretations of the *Avesta*, = Old Per. *Âbastâ*, "the Law"), Sk. = Sanskrit. The names of the Ak. asterisms are taken from the *Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, and are printed in large Roman letters. The numbers are those of the various lunar mansions in the respective schemes. It is not intended to assert that the stars named are in all cases the only ones in their respective asterisms.

The Archaic Euphratean Lunar Zodiac and its Derivatives.

I.

APIN ("The Fou ndation"), = , β, κ, δ *Aquarii* and the stars adjoining. *A Aquarii* is the Ar. *Sadalmeliχ* ("the Auspicious Star of the King"), this 'King' being the heaven-god Sar (=An-sar = Assur), the patron-divinity of "the Asterism of the Foundation;" and, similarly, the Vedic Varuna (= Sar, by analogy) is the patron-divinity of the corresponding lunar mansion. *B Aquarii* is the Ak. *Nam-maχ* ("The Star of Mighty-destiny"). Δ *Aquarii* (*Skat*, "the Leg") is the star equated with the tenth antediluvian king Xasisadra, the hero of the Flood. *Aquarius* (Ak. *Guśiśa*, "the Leading-urn"), the lucky constellation in which Xisouthros escaped destruction and renewed the world, in mediaeval and modern astrology "is deemed a fortunate Sign."

= Per. 24. *Bunda* (= β, ξ *Aquarii*), "the Foundation" (Cf. Av. *buna*, 'ground,' 'basis,' Sk. *budhna*, Gk. βενθός = βάθος).

Ind. 24. *Çravishtha*, "the Most-glorious," a name applied to α, β, γ, δ *Delphini*.

Chi. 24. *Hii*, anc. *Ko* (=β, ξ *Aquarii*), "the Empty" (*i.e.*, the beginning of things), or perhaps "the Precious" (= Ak. *ku*, *gu*).

Ar. 24. *Sa'ad as Sûûd* (= Same stars), *Sadalsund*, "the Luck-of-lucks."

Cop. 24. *Upuineutê* (= Same stars), "the One-at-the-foundation," (Gk. ἐπὶ-νέατος, 'undermost'), or "the Luck-of-the-whole-year" (Gk. εὖ-πάνετης).

= Per. 25. *Kahtsar* (= λ, δ etc. *Aquarii*), = Av. *Çatavaêça*, Bundahis *Çataves*.

Sog. 25. *Shawshat* (= Same stars), = Per. *Sar-kaht* (*i.e.*, *Kahtsar* reversed. Cf. Ak. *Adra-Xasis* = *Xasis-adra*, Aryan *Doro-theos* = *Theo-doros*, *Krato-xenos* = *Xeno-krates*).

Kho. 25. *Mashtawand* (= Same stars), "Possessing-greatness" (Cf. Av. *maçti*, 'greatness,' Per. *wand*, 'possessing').

Ind. 25. *Catabhishaj* (= Same stars), = Av. *Çatavaêça*. This corrupt form shows that the Ind., like the Per. name, was derived from the Av.

Chi. 25. *Wei*, anc. *Gui* (= *a Aquarii*, *θ Pegasi*), "the Foundation." (Cf. Ak. *gi*, 'foundation.')

Ar. 25. *Sa'd al-Akhbiyah* (= α, γ, ζ, η *Aquarii*), "Luck-with-the-tents."

Cop. 25. *Upeutherian* (= Same stars), "the Place-of-Good-fortune" (Gk. * εὐπαθέρια, akin to εὐπετής, εὐπάθεια, Lat. *copia*).

The Ak. asterisms, like the solar zodiacal constellations, are very unequal in size; an equal division of the Zodiac, whether solar or lunar, being a much later work, and the result of scientific deduction, whilst the archaic Akkadian scheme represents merely occular observation. The *Fortuna Maior* of Dante, Chaucer, and other mediaeval writers, is α, γ, η, ζ, π *Aquarii*, and θ *Pegasi*; and it is very interesting to observe how the later greatness of these comparatively inconspicuous stars depends on archaic, Euphratean ideas (vide Prof. Skeat, in the *Academy*, Nov. 3, 1894; R. B. Jr., in *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1895). The lunar mansion Av. *Çatavaêça* ("The Hundred-dwellings") in India is also called *Çata-tara* ("Having-a-hundred-stars"), which is incorrect in actual fact; but the names may be understood as of dignity, *i.e.*, "Possessing-mighty-stars," or 'dwellings,' = *Fortuna Maior*. At the same time, I think it is quite possible that the name *Ç-ata-vaeça* was originally a corruption of *Adra-χasi-s*, with an Aryan derivation attached to it. The Chi. 25, *Wei* is said to mean "a Dangerous-place," but, in this case, as in some others in the Chi. scheme, it is sufficiently clear that the later Chi. meaning of a word was not its original signification as a lunar mansion. The Chi. mansions, like the others, are asterisms, not single stars.

* The asterisk before εὐπαθέρια shows it is formed by analogy but is not a known word.

II.

LIK- or UR-BARRA ("The Hyena"), = ζ, α, γ *Pegasi*. This animal and his brother URBAT (No. XXVIII) appear with many other signs of the lunar zodiac on the uranographic Stones figured in *W.A.I.*, III, xlv. There being no bright stars in *Pisces* except *Okda* (α *Piscium*), which apparently forms part of No. III, GAM, there is no other Akkadian asterism in the constellation. Meanwhile, the more scientific derived lunar zodiacs fill up the space with asterisms, whose names are mainly illustrative of the watery character of this portion of the heavens (vide No. XXX); for, here, in Euphratean idea, is the Upper Deep, the realm of *Aquarius*, wherein swim the *Sea-goat*, the *Dolphin*, the 3 *Fish*, and the *Sea-monster*. The *Urbarra*, if only by play on words (to which the scribes evidently much inclined), is the animal appropriate to the Horizon- and Foundation-god Ur, and hence is suitably placed next to "the Foundation." Some render LIK by 'jackal,' and a jackal appears in the circular zodiac of Denderah in a position which would correspond with the stars of *Pegasus*. The Euphratean *Horse* appears elsewhere (vide No. XVIII). *Mars*, "the luminary reigning over the constellation of the Hyena" (*W.A.I.*, III, lvii, 62, ap. Sayce), is specially connected with *Urbarra*.

Per. 26. *Vaht* (= α, β *Pegasi*), "the Watery," = Av. *Vaidhya* ('Watering,' 'sprinkling').

Sog. and Kho. 26. *Farshat Bath* (= Same stars), "the Watery-division" (*cf.* Per. *pâshîdan*, "to sprinkle," Sk. *prushita*, 'sprinkled,' Sk. root *prush*, "to sprinkle," 'wet').

Ind. 26. *Purva Prostha-pâda* (= Same stars), "the Former Watery-division" (Sk. *pada*, a 'step,' 'portion,' 'division,' from *pad*, 'foot'). The Ind. *Proshṭha* = the Sog. *Farsha-t;* the Ind. *Pada* = the Sog. *Bath*.

Chi. 26. *Shih*, anc. *Sal*, later *Shat* (= Same stars). "The House," *i.e.*, Division.

Ar. 26. *Al-Fargh al-Delwi-l-muḳaddem* (= Same stars), "the Front-emptying-place of the Bucket."

Cop. 26. *Artulos* (= Same stars), "the Watery." As if Gk. *ἐρσαλός. Ἔρσα (Alkman) = Attic ἑρόσος, Lat. *ros*. *Cf.* the Gk. *Hersê* and the Prokris dew-myth.

The Ind. 26 is sometimes styled *Bhâdrapadâ*, which is conventionally rendered "Having ox-feet." *Bhâdrapadâ*, however, is

not the ancient name (vide Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 323). The Sog., Kho. and Ind. names are, of course, identical. It must be remembered that, in many of these names, we have not only to deal with ordinary linguistic changes, but with the corruptions necessarily attaching to words handed down in many languages for several thousand years. Such appellations as "the Watery" do not, in this connexion, refer to the weather or climate of the different countries, but are reminiscences of archaic Euphratean names and ideas. The Ar. 26 is a distinct invention which, however, preserves, in a manner, the watery character of the region.

Per. 27. *Miyan* (= γ *Pegasi*, α *Andromedae*), "the Middle"—of the 3 watery divisions, = Av. *Maidhya*, *Maidhyâna* ('Middle'), Lat. *medius*.

Sog. 27. *Bar Farshat* (= Same stars), "the Watery-division." *Cf.* Sog. and Kho. 26.

Kho. 27. *Wabir* (= Same stars), "the Second (Watery) division. As if *Wa-Bar-(Farshat)*; Per. *Wa* = *ba*, 'with,' "back again."

Ind. 27. *Uttara Proshṭha Pâda* (= Same stars), "the Latter Watery-division."

Chi. 27. *Pih*, anc. *Lek* (= Same stars), "the Wall," *i.e.*, Division.

Ar. 27. *Al-Fargh al-Mukhir* (= Same stars), "the Hinder-emptying-place"—of the Bucket.

Cop. 27. *Artulosia* (= Same stars), "the Place-of-wateriness." As if Gk. *Ἐρσαλόσια.

It is thus obvious that in each instance of the 27th lunar mansion, the Derivatives, having no original to fall back upon, have filled up the gap by practically repeating the name of the previous lunar mansion. The Per. 27, *Miyan* forms no real exception to this. The Arabs show here, as elsewhere, a certain amount of originality, but strictly adhere to the doubling. It is further obvious that all the schemes are one in origin.

Per. 28. *Kaht* (= ε, ζ *Piscium*), "the Thread" (Per. *Kaitân*), *i.e.*, the cord which fastens the pair of *Fishes*. Thus α *Piscium* is called *Okda* ("the Knot"), and *Rischa* ("the Cord"), = As. *riksu*, Ak. *dur* (vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 269).

Sog. 28. *Riwand* (= Same stars), "the Rich" (vide *Ibid.*, p. 270).

Kho. 28. *Zidadh* (= Same stars), "the Rich." *Cf.* Per.-Ar. *Jidat*, 'Rich.' Kho. 1. *Riwand*.

Ind. 28. *Revatî* (= Same stars), "the Rich," = *Riwand*.

Chi. 28. *Kwai*, anc. *Kwet* (= β, δ, ε, ζ, η *Andromedae*, χ, ψ *Piscium*), "the Stride?" Mr. Kingsmill observes, "The 'step' or 'stride' from the conspicuous Quadrilateral of Pegasus to the well marked stars Alpha and Beta in the head of Aries forming the next stopping-place." But, perhaps, it is a variant of the Per. *Kaht*.

Ar. 28. *Baṭn-al-Hût* (= β *Andromedae*, υ, φ, χ *Piscium*), "the Belly of the [Northern] *Fish*." This *Northern Fish* Χαλδαῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἰχθὺν χελιδονιαν (Schol. in Arat. *Phai.*, l. 242).

Cop. 28. *Kutôn* (= Same stars). Either "the Thread" (Per. 28) or "the Fish" (Ar. 28).

Through an obvious mistake the Kho. list has inserted *Riwand* twice (*Zidadh* = *Riwand*).

III.

GAM ("The Scimetar") = α *Piscium*, α, β, γ, μ, 39, 41 *Arietis*. Called "the Weapon of Merôdaχ. The *Ram*, a solar figure, is "the uppermost-part" of it (vide *sup.*, p. 290). The ideas connected with the *Scimetar* are those of protection and what is round and curved, *Gam* signifying 'round,' 'curved' (vide *Proceedings*, Feb. 1890, pp. 183–4); and it is interesting to find that they reappear in the Derivatives. This *Scimetar*, the weapon of Merôdaχ-Perseus, protects against the 7 Evil Spirits, originally storm and tempest powers, but apparently ultimately reduplicated in some southern constellations. Thus Êa says to his son Merôdaχ (*Ak. Poem on the Seven Evil Spirits*, ap. Sayce, in *Records of the Past*, ix, 143) *et seq.*:—

> "May those Seven never draw near.
> Like a broad *Scimetar* . . . bid (thine) hand rest; and
> In *circling fire* by day (and) night on the (sick) man's head
> may it abide;"

and allusion is made to "the mighty girdle of the deep," perhaps the ecliptic. In another *Story of the Seven Wicked Spirits* (ap. Smith and Sayce, *Chal. Account of Genesis*, p. 99) we read:—

2. "The rebellious spirits, who in the lower part of heaven [= the nocturnal southern sky.]

3. Had been created,

4. Wrought their evil work,

5. Devising with wicked heads (at) sunset [*i.e.*, when the constellations are about to become visible];

6. (Like) a Sea-monster [= Tiâmat-*Cetus*] to the River [probably = the *Milky Way*, called in ancient Egyptian "the Great Stream," and possibly also *Eridanus*] (they marched).

7. The first was a Scorpion [= *Scorpio*] of rain.

8. The second was a Thunderbolt [*Ara*, the fiery *Altar?* "A mighty Sign of storm at sea." Arat. *Phai.*, l. 409–10]; *

9. The third was a Leopard [= *Thêrion-Lupus*];

10. The fourth was a Serpent [= *Hydra*];

11. The fifth was a Watch-dog [= *Canis Maj.*];

12. The sixth was a raging Tempest [= *Crater.* Vide R. B., Jr., *Eridanus*, p. 19];

13. The seventh was the Messenger of the Evil Wind" [= *Corvus.* Vide *Proceedings*, Feb., 1890, p. 194].

GAM = Per. 1. *Padevar* (= β, γ *Arietis*), "the Protecting-pair," = Av. *Pati-dvaya* (Av. *paiti*, 'chief,' 'protector,' from root *pâ*, "to protect," Sk. *patis*, Gk. πόσις. Av. *vaya*, 'couple,' = *dvaya*, from Av. *dva*, 'two').

Sog. 1. *Bashish* (= Same stars), "the Protector" (Sk. *patis*).

Ind. 1. *Açvinî* (= Same stars), anc. *Açvayugau* ("the Two Horse-harnessers") *i.e.*, the *Açvinau*, the *Açvins*, "the Great Twin Brethren," Dawn-gods, who begin the day as these two stars begin the year, and are aiders and protectors of mankind.

Chi. 1. *Leu*, anc. *Lok* (α, β, γ *Arietis*), "Things-in-stories," "the Mound" (*Cf.* Ak. *Kizluχ*, "high place"), *i.e.*, the Upper-part of GAM.

Ar. 1. *Ash-Sharatân* (= β, γ *Arietis*), "the Two Tokens."

Cop. 1. *Pikutôrion* (= Same stars), "the Protection" (Eg. *p*, *pui*, Cop. *pi*, 'the' + * κυτώριον, 'protection,' from κύτος, "that-which-covers," Lat. *scutum*).

= Per. 2. *Pesh-Parviz* (= μ, 39, 41 *Arietis*), "the Forerunners-of-the-Numerous-Family" (Per. *pesh*, "in front," + *parviz.* Vide Per. 3).

* In Tablet K. 12,340 we meet with the *Kakkab* 𒀭𒀜𒀝 𒌋𒁹𒌋, NI-DU-UB = NI-DUB. A synonym of the Ak. *ni* is the As. *kisallu*, 'altar,' itself derived from the Ak. *Kisal. Dub* = the Turko-Tat. *tob*, 'heap'; 'round'; 'hill.' Hence, *Nidub* = "the Altar-mound" or "Lofty-altar," and is probably the original Akkadian name of the zodiacal *Altar*, which, as I have shown, appears on the monuments (vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 260, *et seq.*), and was subsequently replaced by the *Claws*, and ultimately by the *Balance.* This Tablet also mentions other neighbouring zodiacal constellations, such as *Girtab* ("the *Scorpion*"), *Niru* ("the *Yoke*" = the *Goat-fish*), and *Zibanituv*, which, as noticed (*Proceedings*, Jan., 1895, p. 23), was specially connected with the zodiacal *Ara.*

Sog. 2. *Barv* (= Same stars),—"of-the-Numerous-Family." *Barv* = *Parv-iz;* the first part of the name has dropped off.

Kho. 2. *Farankhand* (= Same stars), = *Fara-Khan*, "Before-the-Family" (Per. *fara*, Av. *fra*, Lat. *pro*, + *khan*, 'house,' 'family').

Ind. 2. *Bharanî* (= Same stars), "the Bearing." Figured by the *pudend. mul.*

Chi. 2. *Wei*, anc. *Vij* (= Same stars), "the Stomach," as that which is round, curved.

Ar. 2. *Al-Butain* (= Same stars), "the Little Belly."

Cop. 2. *Koleôn* (= Same stars), "the Belly" (Gk. κοιλία), or, possibly "the Scabbard" (Gk. κολεόν)—*cf.* GAM.

The names are frequently corrupted by the addition of final letters, *e.g.*, Sog. *khan-d* for *khan*, and in the Cop. names "the on-hanging N" (νῦ ἐφελκυστικόν) frequently appears. That all the Derivatives are connected schemes will already be perfectly obvious. In the case of Mansion No. 1, all, except the Chi., are clearly closely connected with each other; and the Chi. is curiously linked in idea with the Ak. original. In Mansion No. 2, the great importance of the *Pleiades* has caused a reference to them in the Per., Sog., and Kho. schemes; whilst the Ind., Chi., Ar., and Cop. houses agree absolutely, and preserve the idea of the Ak. original. China and Egypt cannot have borrowed from one another; the Cop. form may possibly have come from the Ar.. which, in turn, would be borrowed in idea from the Euphrates Valley; and the cases of China and India make it almost certain that the Per., Sog., and Kho. forms, as we now have them, are not originals.

IV.

MASTABBAGALGALLA ("The Great Twins"), = the *Pleiades* and *Hyades*. Cf. *Il.* xviii, 486: Πληιάδας θ' Ὑάδας. The *Pleiades* are often spoken of as a single star, *e.g.*, Eurip. *Iôn*, 1152, or as a combined unit, *e.g.*, by Ptolemy in his star-list; and the "Great Twins" may be strictly the *Pleiad* and *Aldebaran*. The pair are again represented by TE-TE, the technical name of *Taurus* in Babylonian astronomy (vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 250; R.B., Jr., in the *Academy*, Nov. 4, 1893, p. 396). The immense importance of the *Pleiades* ("the Clusterers,"—not 'Sailing-stars,' which, like 'Doves,' is an afterthought) in connexion with astronomico-religious observances and the calendar, need not be further

referred to here. As the 'Clusterers' are called in Heb. *Kimah* (Job, ix, 9; xxxviii, 31; Amos, v, 8), it is clear that their Bab.-As. name was *Kimmatu* ("the Family," from *Kamû*, "to tie"), *i.e.*, "Those-bound-together."

= Per. 3. *Parviz* (= the *Pleiades*), "the Numerous-family" (Old Per., Av., Sk. *paru*, 'full,' 'much,' Gk. πολύ-ς, + Av., Sk. *viç*, 'house,' 'family,' Lat. *vicus*, Gk. οἶκος).

Sog. and Kho. 3. *Parvi* (= Same stars), = Per. *Parviz*. According to Haug (*Essays on the Parsis*, p. 182), called the *Paurvas* in the *Homa Yasht*.

Ind. 3. *Kṛittikâ* (= Same stars), "the Dividers"—as commencing the year with *Sol in Tauro*.

Chi. 3. *Mao*, anc. *Mol* (= Same stars), "the Constellation" (Cf. the Ar. *Au-Najm*, "the Constellation," a name of the *Pleiades*), = Ak. *Mul*, Sem. *Kakkab*. Chi. *Mao-lei*, "the Star-heap" (*cf.* Chi. 1).

Ar. 3. *Ath-Thuraiya* (= Same stars), "the Cluster."

Cop. 3. (1) *Orias* (= Same stars), "the Good-season" (Gk. Ὡραῖος), *i.e.*, Spring, the *Pleiades* being the special stars of Spring—*Vergiliae*. (2) *Ezastran* (= Same stars), "the Six-stars" (Gk. Ἓξ ἄστρα). *Cf.* Ovid, *Fasti*, iv, 169; "Quae septem dici, sex tamen esse solent."

(For some excellent remarks respecting the *Pleiades*, and the meaning of the name, vide Hahn, *Tsuni-* || *Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi*, 1881).

= Per. 4. *Paha* (the *Hyades*, and specially *Aldebaran*), "the Follower" (*cf.* Av. *paçça*, Lat. *post*. Per. *pasrau*, 'follower')—of the *Pleiades*.

Sog. and Kho. 4. *Baharu* (= Same stars), "the Follower,"= *Paha*.

Ind. 4. *Rohinî* (= Same stars), "the Red" (*cf.* Ind. 18), called by Ptolemy Ὑποκίρρος, "reddish-yellow" (*cf.* No. XXIV).

Chi. 4. *Pih*, anc. *Pal* (= the *Hyades*), "the Net," so called from the shape of the asterism. Chi. *Pit*, "the Yoke," = *Aldebaran*, called in Bab. *Pid-nu* ("the Yoke").

Ar. 4. *Al-Dabarân* (= the *Hyades*, specially *α Tauri*), "the Follower."

Cop. 4. *Piôrioôn* (= the *Hyades*), "the (Stars) of the Good-season" (Ὡραῖου).

V.

MASTABBATURTUR ("The Little Twins"), = λ, ϕ^1, ϕ^2 *Orionis.*

This asterism affords a striking illustration of the light thrown upon the *Tablet of the Thirty Stars* by the Derivatives, with which, in the first instance, I did not study it, and thence supposed that "the Little Twins" would be β and ζ *Tauri.* But it is, of course, well known what stars constitute the asterisms in the Ind., Chi., and Ar. schemes, in each of which the 5th mansion consists of the 3 stars above mentioned; whilst the names of the Sog. and Kho. lists show that their arrangement is similar. The 3 stars in question are situate so close together that ϕ^1 is overlapped by λ. They thus form a pair of "Little Twins," immediately in line with the "Great Twins"; and their proximity is further illustrated by the fact that in Ptolemy's list they are grouped together as one star (λ), which is called "the Cloudlike (νεφελοειδής)-one in the head of Orion." This 'cloudlike' appearance is reproduced in at least five names applied to the asterism.

= Per. 5. *Aveçr* (= λ, ϕ,[1] ϕ^2 *Orionis*), = (1) "the Coronet" (Av. *avi*, 'on,' + *çara*, 'head'). Cf. *Zâd-sparam*, vii. 10 (ap. West, in *Sacred Books of the East*, v, 175): "These six regions are like a coronet (avîsar)." But the Ak. and Sog. names enable us to see that the original Per. name = (2) "Two Heads" (Av. *ubha*, *uva*, 'two,' Sk. *ubha*, Gk. ἄμφω, Lat. *ambo*, Lithuanian *abû*, Goth. *bai*, + Av. *çara*, 'head'), Av. *Uva-çara.* The connexion between this idea and a coronet, which is on both sides (giving the idea of duality) the head, is like that between the Gk. ἀμφί and ἄμφω. The idea of a 'cloudlike,' or somewhat shining, coronet, is also naturally connected with the actual appearance of the asterism, and its situation in the head of the figure, which, from Egypt and Greece in the West to China in the East, was considered to represent a great warrior or chieftain.

Sog. 5. *Marezânâ* (= Same stars), "the Two Companions." The Av. *marez* = *varez* = *verez*; *marezâna* = *varezâna*, = "*verezana*, mot obscur, trad. voisin.—Travailleur, qui travaille sous un autre, compagnon" (De Harlez, *Manuel de la Langue de l'Avesta*, p. 204). *Marezânâ* is a dual form. The Per. "Two Heads" = Sog. "Two Companions, = Ak. "Little Twins," = λ and ϕ^1 + ϕ^2 *Orionis.*

Kho. 5. *Ikhma* (= Same stars), = (1) "the Brethren" (Ar.-Per. *Ikhwa-n*), and (2) "the Plume" (*cf.* Per. *jika*, "royal plume").

Ind. 5. *Invakâ* (= Same stars), "the Surrounders," = "the Coronet," called later *Mṛigaçiras*, "the Antelope's Head." *Mṛiga* is applied to "the spots on the moon represented as a hare or antelope" (Monier Williams, *Sk.-Eng. Dict.* in loc.), so that *Mṛigaçiras* = "The Spots (stars) in the Head (of *Orion*)."

Chi. 5 *Tsui*, anc. *Tsok* (= Same stars), "the Spike-of-feathers-on-the-head."

Ar. 5. *Al-Hak' ah* (= Same stars), "the Circle-of-hairs," = "the Coronet," = "the Plume," = "the Spots," = "the Spike-of-feathers."

Cop. 5. *Klusos* (= Same stars), "the Watery," 'Rainy' (Gk. κλύζος, 'flood,' "rise-of-water;" vide Hêsych. in κλύζει, =πλημμῦρις, "rise-of-the-sea"). The reference is to *Orion* as "pluviosus et tristis," 'nimbosus,' 'aquosus,' etc.

VI.

UNGAL or SAR ("The King") = *α Orionis*, or possibly the seven stars of *Orion*. The patron-divinity of the asterism is Merôdaχ, known as *Sarru*, "the King," and also hymned as "King of the land, king of (all) lands, king of heaven and earth," and "king of Babylon" (vide Sayce, *Rel. Anct. Babs.*, 99). Lacouperie observes that *Orion* appears as a "military chief alike in Babylonia and China" (*Western Origin*, p. 340); and Sahû, the Eg. *Orion*, is "a wild hunter," and, with Sopdît (*Sirius*), the ruler of the starry and nocturnal world, hunts "the very gods" (Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, Eng. edit., pp. 96–7).

= Per. 6. *Besn* (= *α Orionis*), "the Arm"—of the Giant (Av. *bâzu*, *bahu*, Gk. Πῆχυς), *Betelgeuze* (= Ar. *Ibt-al-Jauza*), "the Giant's armpit."

Sog. 6. *Rashnawand* (= *δ*, *ε*, *ζ Orionis*, the *Belt*-stars), "Possessing-righteousness." "The star-bespangled Girdle" (*Yasna*, ix, 26), explained by Haug (*Essays*, p. 182) as "the belt of Orion," is the asterism apparently specially belonging to the Av. Genius Rashnu ('Righteousness' personified, *i.e.*, *rectitude*, with which these three stars, as being in a straight line, are connected), "the Genius of Truth" (Darmesteter). This connexion between Rashnu and the *Belt*-stars further appears from the Av. words *raçma*, 'rank,' *raçman*, 'cord,' straight-line,' 'rank-of-soldiers,' from the root *raj*, *rash*.

Kho. 6. *Khawiya* (= Same stars), = Per. Shahrivar, = Av. *Khshathra-vairya* ("Perfect-sovereignty," Darmesteter), "the god of order" (Haug), a concept akin or equivalent to Rashnu.

Ind. 6. *Bahu* (= *α Orionis*), "the Arm" (= Per. 6), later *Ârdrâ* ("the Wet," cf. Cop. 5). Names such as *Ârdrâ*, which refer to local climate, are, as of course, later; and the instance of *Bahu* alone would show that the Ind. scheme was not the original product of that country.

Chi. 6. *Tsan*, anc. *Sal* (= *δ*, *ε*, *ζ Orionis*), "the Three" (cf. R. B., Jr., *The Etruscan Numerals*, p. 19, List of '3' words). Said to mean 'Together.'

Cop. 6. *Klaria* (= *α Orionis*), "the Armlet" (Gk. κλαρά = ψέλια. Hêsych., Lat. *Armilla*). Cf. Per. and Ind. 6.

VII.

KHIGALLA ("The Canal") or KHIGAL-AI ("The Canal-of-waters") = *η*, *μ*, *ν*, *γ*, *ξ Geminorum*, situate in the "Milky Way." Prof. Hommel says, "*Chegalai* (Frucht-barkeitstern) wahrscheinlich Denebola (*β* leonis). Oder *α* im Becher? oder *β* virginis?" (*Die Astronomie der alten Chaldäer*, iii, 16). But there is little real uncertainty when once the proper order has been obtained. "The Canal" primarily refers to the *Galaxy*.

= Per. 7. *Rakhvâd* (= *η*, *μ*, *ν*, *γ*, *ξ Geminorum*), "the Watery-way" (Av. *raithya*, Per. *rah*, 'road,' + Av. *vaidhya*, 'watering'). Per. *râhi âb*, 'canal,' *Râhi hâjiyân* ("the Road of the Pilgrims"), = the *Via Lactea*.

Sog. 7. *Ghathaf* (= Same stars), = Pazand *Gôshûrûn*, = Av. *Gêush-urvâ* ("the Soul of the Bull"). The following quotation from Haug will make this very curious connexion plain, "The Gôsh Yasht is devoted to a female spirit who is here called *Drvâspa*, *i.e.*, one who keeps horses in health. The name *Gosh*, 'cow,' which was given her in aftertimes, refers to *gêush urvâ*, the universal soul by which all living beings of the good creation are animated. . . . She [Drvâspa] was believed to preserve the life of the good animals. In heaven she represents the Milky-way, and in this respect is described as having many spies (eyes), having light of her own, having a far way, and a long constellation" (*Essays*, pp. 201–2). So Darmesteter: "'The Soul of the Bull,' Gôsûrûn or Drvâspa" (*Sacred Books of the East*, xxiii, 245).

Kho. 7. *Gawthaf* (= Same stars), = Sog. *Ghathaf*.

Chi. 7. *Tsing* anc. *Tiam* (= *λ*, *ζ*, *ε*, *ν*, *μ*, *γ Geminorum*), "a Well" —in the middle of divided land. The idea of partition by water has been preserved.

Ar. 6. *Al-Han'ah* (= η, μ, ν, γ, ξ *Geminorum*), "the Brandmark." According to Kazwînî, the mansion consists of γ and ξ *Geminorum* only, described as "two whitish glimmering stars in the Milky Way." "This," says Smyth, "is called Alhena, a ring or brand on a horse's neck" (*Celestial Cycle*, ii, 154). Robertson Smith explains it as "apparently the wishing Asterism." But neither of these interpretations is very satisfactory, and perhaps we should read Al-Qanâ-t ("the Canal").

VIII.

PALLIKA or PALURA ("The Crossing of the Water-dog"). The *Kakkab* [illegible] = *Prokyon* (α *Can. Min.*). The Ak. *pal* = As. *ebiru*, *ebur*, "to cross," "the crossing." [illegible] (Ak. *lik*, *ur*) = [illegible], As. *kal-bu*, Heb. *keleb*, and elsewhere (*W.A.I.*, II, vi, 17) we read of *Ka-lab-mê* ([illegible]), "the Water-dog"; [illegible], Ak. *'a* = As. *me*, 'water.' To understand the meaning of this name we must remember the mythic legends respecting the crossing of the *Circulus Lacteus*, regarded as a river,* by stars. Thus, Mr. Kingsmill says, "To the constellation Lyra the Chinese gave the name of the Chih-nü (or Weaving Woman), a name still familiar and associated with the legend that once a year on the seventh day of the seventh moon Altair crosses the celestial river (the Milky Way) to visit Vega" (*A Comparative Table*, p. 61). Similarly, "the Little-dog" (Ar. *Al-gamûṣ*)† in idea crossed "the Great Stream" (Milky Way) which now lies between him and his brother *Canis Maj.*, and, hence, appears as Προ-κύων, 'before' the latter. "The Arabs recognized its quality of fore-runner to the Dog-star in *al-kelb-al-mutekaddem*, the antecedent dog; they also called it *ghomaïsá*, watery-eyed" (Smyth, *Celestial Cycle*, ii, 183). And this connexion between *Procyon*, eighth of first magnitude stars, and water, is the reason why names signifying 'watery-eyed,' 'weak-eyed,' 'blear-eyed,' were subsequently applied to the beautiful star, which, similarly, reappears in Greek myth as Μαῖρα ("the Sparkler")—not weak-eyed, "canis ululans Mera" (Hyginus, *Fabulae*, cxxx), the Little-dog which wept (= the "Watery-eyed") for the death of its master Ikarios. The Derivatives have, rightly enough, not adopted this star in their

* Vide R. B., Jr., *The Milky Way in Euphratean Stellar Mythology* (*Academy*, Jan., 9, 1892, p. 43).

† *Cf.* Ar., *gamas*, "dip into water," 'immerse,' 'wet.'

schemes; but, its presence here may be illustrated by a passage in the Schol. on Germanicus, which, after speaking of *Procyon*, says of the other stars in *Can. Min.*, "Reliquae sunt stellae in signorum circulo, quem sol perambulat in XII mensibus" (ap. C. Robert, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae*, Berlin, 1878, p. 192). A Dog *sejant*, not *salient* as *Can. Maj.* (vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 271, fig. xviii), appears amongst other lunar zodiacal emblems on the Boundary Stones.

IX.

SUPA ("The Lustrous." Explained as As. *Namru*, *W.A.I.*, V, xlvi, No. 1, l. 52, 'the Brilliant") = α and β *Geminorum*, *Castor* and *Pollux*. The name affords an interesting instance of the close connexion between the Ak. and Turco-Tataric languages.

The Bab. translation prevents any possibility of doubt respecting its meaning, and *Supa* is at once seen to be akin to the Turco-Tataric root *sub*, *suv*, *su*, 'water,' 'lustre,' 'honour,' Uigur *sub*, 'lustre,' etc.

= Per. 8. *Taraha* (= α, β *Geminorum*), "the (Two) Stars" (Av. *Çtehr*, *çtar*, Gk. ἀστήρ, Lat. *stella*, Per. *tara*, 'star;' cf. Gk. τεῖρος, τέρας, found only in plu. τείρεα, "the constellations," + Per. *ha*, plu. form. Cf. also Per. *towa*, *tava*, 'twin').

Sog. 8. *Ghamâ* (= Same stars), "the Twins" (Av. *Yima*, Sk. *Yama*, *yamau*, "twins,' Per. *jam*). Cf. the Vedic myth of Yama and his twin sister Yamî.

Kho. 8. *Jiray* (= Same stars), "the Pair" (*cf.* Per. *jûr*, 'pair').

Ind 7. *Punarvasû* (= Same stars), "the Twice-bright," = "the Two Bright-ones."

Ar. 7. *Al-Dzirâ'* (= Same stars), "the Arm" (Ar. *zirâ*, 'arm')—of *Leo*. Speaking about the Ar. constellations, Albirûnî, who says that the Arabs "were very far from an accurate knowledge of the [solar] zodiacal signs and the star-figures," observes, "according to their opinion the figure of Leo extends over the signs Cancer, Leo, Virgo, and part of Libra;" and "they consider the two heads of Gemini as his outstretched forefoot . . . whilst in reality the matter is not what they assume" (*Vestiges*, p. 226).

Cop. 7. *Pimafi* (= Same stars), "the Fore-arm" (Cop. *pi*, 'the,' + Cop. *mafi*, Eg. *mch*, 'forearm'), = Ar. 7.

(*To be continued.*)

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be holden at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 14th January, 1896, at 8 p.m., when the usual business of the Meeting will be transacted.

A Paper by Dr. Gaster will be read.

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